

34. For what purpose.
35. And fortune.
36. Emperor Leopold formed an alliance with John Sobieski, King of Poland, against the Turks in 1683, and soon after on March 5, 1684 a Holy League was formed with the addition of Venice, Russia and the Papacy. The war, which began with the famous siege of Vienna (July 14—Sept. 12, 1683), lasted for sixteen years and put an end to Turkish domination in Hungary.
37. I returned therefore at 4 P.M.
38. Forming a sort of dais.
39. Raised three spans above the rest.
40. Gold veil.
41. Shone.
42. *Katari, katar, katarah.* A dagger. For full description see Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 85-86.
43. Being eighty years old.
44. Conspicuous.
45. The officer in charge of petitions was the *mir arz*. There are very few references to this office in the *Akbarnama*. In the twentieth year of Akbar's reign, the officer was for the first time appointed. "An accomplished courtier was made Mir 'Arzi' so that he might during the time of his watch represent the petitions and requests of mankind without reference to his own ease, and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles." (*Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 208; Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 220, n. 1).
46. At so advanced an age.
47. *Cornac.* Elephant driver or mahout. See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 256.
48. Shah Alam had five sons—Muizz-ud-din, Azz-ud-din, Muhammad Azim surmounted by 'Azim-ush-shan', Rafi-ul-qadr, and Khujista-Akhtar Jahan Shah. With the exception of Azz-ud-din all the sons had children. (See genealogical table on p. 143 of Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. I).
49. Muhammad Azam Shah born in 1653, died at Jajau, in the war of succession following Aurangzeb's death (June 1707).
50. Obeisances.
51. One span above the other.
52. Had to make.
53. The ensigns at the entrance to the Emperor's camp, which the author describes, were collectively called the *qur*. The *astab* or sun was adopted as a standard by Timur when the fire-worshippers were conquered. The gilt hand is the *panjeh*. It represents the hand of Ali. The horse's tail is obviously the *chatroq* or the *tumanq* mentioned in the *Ain* (Vol. I, p. 50). It is a small standard adorned with the tails of Tibetan yaks. See Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 31-35.
54. Kotwal.

CHAPTER III

1. If indeed the sons await their father's death.
2. Shah Jahan.
3. Compare Tavernier who writes "This great monarch reigned more than forty years, less as an Emperor over his subjects than as father of a family over his house and children." (Vol. I, p. 260). Shah Jahan ascended the throne in 1627 and had reigned only for thirty years when the war of succession began.
4. The actual age was 65 years and 8 months.
5. More fitted for other things than love, he became desperately enamoured of a young Muslim woman,



6. This is one of the fantastic stories to which the foreign travellers often gave currency. For similar or more baseless scandals see Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 194-196; Bernier, pp. 273-274; Manrique, Vol. II, pp. 141-44; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 203; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 260.
7. The Mughal emperors appeared at a balcony every day. The practice was discontinued by Aurangzeb.
8. The first.
9. Shuja.
10. Called—the first, Begum Saheb.
11. Jahanaara Begam, surnamed the Begum Sahib. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XVIII, Note 28.
12. The second.
13. Raushanara Begam, literally "adornment of light", here of "serene mind."
14. Accustomed to be.
15. Barqandaz Khan, Sardar Khan, Itibar Khan, Danishmand Khan and Kamal Khan.
16. Gwalior. Princes of the imperial family, for political convenience of the reigning monarch, were usually lodged in the fort of Gwalior and there rendered imbecile by regular administration of drugs like "post". (Bernier, pp. 106 ff and note).
17. On the pretext of.
18. Succession to the empire.
19. From Ar. *kafir*, pl. *kofra*, 'an infidel, an unbeliever in Islam' (Hobson-Jobson, pp. 140-42).
20. Ar. *Rafzi*.
21. Country's (*della Patria*).
22. For the rest of his days.
23. Rival brothers.
24. Very rich.
25. Shahbaz (Manucci's Xaabas), an able officer of the rank of 5000. He reduced Surat on his master's behalf and warned him against the designs of Aurangzeb who had the faithful eunuch strangled. (Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 249, 252, 303).
26. This is a mistake. Shuja after taking Patna advanced towards Benares, but was defeated by Jai Singh and Sulaiman Shukoh near Bahadurpur five miles north-east of Benares, and fled towards Bengal.
27. Sulaiman Shukoh, son of Dara, was born in 1635. Jai Singh and Diler Khan deserted him after his father's defeat at Samugarh and he took refuge with the Raja of Srinagar, Prithvi Singh. Subsequently he was handed over to Aurangzeb who imprisoned him in the fort of Gwalior where he was poisoned.
28. Muhammad Sultan was the eldest son of Aurangzeb; born 1639, died 1676. As to his marriage with the daughter of Abdullah Qutb Shah, see Khafi Khan, Vol. I, pp. 746, 749. He was in charge of Aurangzeb's right-wing in the battle of Samugarh.
29. Mir Jumla, see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. VIII, Note 7.
30. Who was still occupied, by order of Shah Jahan, at the siege of Kaliana.
31. Kalyan, an important railway junction in Thana district, Bombay, about 30 miles from Bombay town.
32. Tell him.
33. Daulatabad. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XLV.
34. Ingenuously.
35. That the father.
36. Muhammad Muazzam surnamed Shah Alam, see *ante*.
37. Having already made.
38. Mir Jumla returned to Aurangabad about 1 January, 1658 and as soon as he entered the chamber of Aurangzeb, he was arrested by collusion on a false charge of 'treason' and all his artillery and property seized in the name of the state. For a discussion of the motives of Aurangzeb and the sham nature of the arrest, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 361-362.

39. That you are not the man to take it in jest.

40. In.

41. To.

42. Burhanpur.

43. Should make every endeavour.

44. As he wished.

45. The river at Ujjain, Sipra (*Imp. Gaz.*, XXIII, pp. 14-15). Thornton's *Gazetteer* (1854), Vol. IV, pp. 412-413, gives the position and character of the various crossings, and the width and depth of the stream. The reference is to the battle of Dharmat near Ujjain.

46. 'And' between Kasem and Cham is a printing mistake. The Italian text has Kasem Kan, Muhammad Qasim, surnamed Mutamad Khan in the first instance and then Qasim Khan (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 95-99).

47. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, a staunch partisan of Dara who later submitted to Aurangzeb. He held a mansab of 7,000 and died at Jamrud near Peshawar in 1678.

48. Bernier estimates Rajput casualty at 7,400 (p. 39). Isardas's estimate is "24 eminent Rajput chiefs, 2,000 Rajputs of Marwar, and 6,000 troopers and officers of the Imperial service were slain." See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, pp. 25-26 and n.

49. Samugarh, a village 8 miles due east of Agra Fort (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet 50 S.E. cited in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 31 n). According to the *Alamgirnamah*, (p. 94) cited in Manucci, Vol. I n., the battle was fought on the 7th Ramzan (June 8, 1658, N.S.; May 30, O.S.).

50. Ram Singh Rathor of Kishangarh, son of Karmsi, and nephew through his mother of Rana Jagat Singh of Udaipur. (*Maasir-ul-umara*, Vol. II, p. 266). Rutle or Rotella, according to Irvine (*Manucci*, Vol. I, p. 241 n), 'must be either a popular form of Rathor, or one of their subdivisions.' Khafi Khan has given a detailed account of the valour displayed by Ram Singh who was shot in the forehead with an arrow by Murad and killed. Also see Bernier, pp. 51-52.

51. With an arrow

52. Issue.

53. Khalilullah Khan, son of Mir Miran, Yazdi. Manucci, (Vol. I, pp. 280-82), and Bernier (pp. 53-54) also refer to his treachery at Samugarh. The contemporary Mughal authorities (cited in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 57 n) refute the story that Dara dismounted from his elephant at a time when he had completely defeated Aurangzeb, and maintain that Dara took to his horse when he had absolutely no chance of victory.

54. Treacherously.

55. Might lose heart.

56. Sudden fear.

57. Too quickly from his.

58. Great victories.

59. Send his consolation.

60. The garden of Nur-Manzil or Dhara, outside Agra city (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 70).

61. For the rest.

62. On the pretence of wishing to speak to Shah Jahan on his behalf.

63. His eunuch.

64. Not Akbar Khan, but I'tibar Khan (Manucci's Atbarcan) see Manucci, Vol. I, p. 296. Bernier says, "He immediately appointed his eunuch *Etbarakan* governor of the fortress" (p. 64). As Careri was familiar with Bernier's *Travels*, Ekbar in the Italian text is very likely a printing mistake for Etbar.

65. Without permission.

66. Shaista Khan.

67. This account is probably borrowed from Bernier (p. 66).

68. Mathura or Muttra on the right bank of the Jumna, about 30 miles from Agra.



69. Concealed evil designs.
70. At least for that day.
71. His (Aurangzeb's) honeyed words.
72. The Shiraz wine so called from the town in Persia.
73. Sayyid Mir entitled Amir Khan, brother of Shaikh Mir, and son of Mir Muhammad Khan Khwafi (*Maasir-ul-umara*, Vol. II, pp. 476, 668). Also see Bernier, p. 67.
74. Desired.
75. *Jamdhari* from Sans. *Yama*, 'death and *dhāra* 'a sharp edge'. It was a short, broad dagger. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 110; Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moguls*, p. 86). Egerton, *An Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* supplies useful information regarding easterly arms.
76. Succeeded in pacifying them.
77. 'Amari, 'a covered-in-howdah or litter'.
78. Salimgarh or Nurgarh fort, at the north end of the Delhi Fort (*Lal Qila*) built by Salim Shah in 1546. During Aurangzeb's reign it served the purpose of a state prison. (Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi*, pp. 195-6; *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi Province*, Vol. II, p. 300).
79. Came in conflict.
80. Prince Muhammad Sultan deserted to Shuja in June 1659. In February next year he left his uncle and returned to Mir Jumla's camp where he was put under arrest, and sent to Gwalior. Subsequently he was transferred to Salimgarh and poisoned (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 275; Bernier, pp. 82-83; Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 337-338, Vol. II, pp. 194-195).
81. Careri simply repeats Bernier's account here. The prince was warmly received by Shuja, married one of his daughters and became his chief commander. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, p. 261).
82. He wished to be treated.
83. Almost of.
84. Ajmer. The battle between Dara and Aurangzeb was fought at Dorai about 3 miles south of Ajmer (12th-14th March, 1659).
85. Jaswant Singh had not originally acted as an instrument of Aurangzeb as Careri suggests. He sincerely wanted to fight for Dara when he invited the prince in February 1659 to come to Ajmer but was later won over to Aurangzeb's side by Jai Singh. The result was the disastrous defeat of Dara in the battle of Dorai.
86. "35 days" in the Italian text.
87. 'Hand' is a misprint for 'land'. The Italian text is as follows: "fra le Terre dia molti Ragia, amici di Gessem."
88. Fight him anyhow. Dara fought Aurangzeb's army at Dorai pass and not Jaswant Singh who was at Jodhpur at the time.
89. Badi-uz-zaman, called Mirza Dakhini, governor of Ahmadabad. Careri following Bernier wrongly accuses Shah Nawaz Khan of treachery. It is said that Dara himself suspected Shah Nawaz's good faith probably because the old man was Aurangzeb's father-in-law and this suspicion was shared by some Indian chroniclers as well. But Shah Nawaz's death at Dorai in defence of a hopeless cause should set all such suspicions at rest. Manucci says that "he did, as a fact, lose his life for love of Dara" (Vol. I, p. 325) and was killed at Aurangzeb's orders (Vol. I, p. 344). Indeed he had willingly surrendered Ahmadabad to Dara when he could easily repulse the prince's insignificant force.
90. This statement is also based on Bernier, pp. 87-88.
91. Kolis, see Thevenot, Part III, Book I, Chap. IV. Bernier calls them "the greatest robbers, and altogether the most unprincipled people in the Indies" (pp. 88-89).
92. Malik Jiwan, son of Ayub, the chief of the Barozai Afghans. He was rewarded with the title of Bakhtyar Khan for his treachery. Manucci says, "Dara had three times rescued this man from death." (Vol. I, p. 347).
93. Sipir Shukoh, son of Dara.

94. The island fortress of Bhakkar (now in Sukkur district) under the jurisdiction of Tatta in Sind.

95. Mirbaba or Bahadur Khan, the foster-brother of Aurangzeb.

96. Suspecting worse.

97. Hakim Daud, Tagarrub Khan, physician to Shah Jahan (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 490). He came from Persia (Bernier, p. 100).

98. And without religion.

99. Nazar Beg Chelah. Manucci says that he was "one of King Shahjahan's slaves, brought up by him from childhood." Dara had once given him offence by rebuking him for his insolence (Vol. I, p. 358). Nazar Beg himself was later stabbed to death under Aurangzeb's instructions (Manucci, Vol. I, p. 383).

100. Us.

101. For the murder and burial of Dara, see Bernier, p. 102; Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 358-360; Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 283.

102. First washed it with his own hands.

103. Humagon—a misprint in the English translation for 'Humayon' (in the Italian text). Humayun's tomb has long served as a cemetery for the Imperial family. About 120 princes of the house of Timur including poor Dara were buried in its vaults but the exact place where Dara was interred cannot be located.

104. Daughters—a misprint for "daughter", the more accurate translation is—"That night the daughter of the unhappy man was made to enter the seraglio" (Italian text, p. 182).

105. See *ante*.

106. Srinagar in the Garhwal District of U. P. The ruler was Raja Prithvi Singh who treated Sulaiman Shukoh with all kindness and attention. For the intrigues of Aurangzeb and capture of Sulaiman, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, pp. 232-234.

106a. Confused with Jai Singh.

107. Medini Singh.

108. Saiyad (Bernier, p. 108). The person executed by Murad was Mir Ali Naqi, Diwan of Gujarat, (Manucci, Vol. I, p. 240 *n* and p. 382).

109. In order to seize his goods.

109a. Murad was executed after a mock trial on the complaint of Ali Naqi's second son.

110. Whose intention.

111. Everywhere, even into the islands.

112. Dacca, former capital of Bengal. See also Thevenot, Part III, Chapter XI, Note 7.

113. Sultan Bang, according to Manucci. Bernier calls him Sultan Banque (p. 109). Irvine suggests that he may be identified with Sultan Buland Akhtar, second son of Shuja whom the Dutch called Bon Sultan and the eldest son of his father. (Manucci, Vol. I, p. 369 *n*).

114. Arakan or Magh. Arakan is the country and the people inhabiting it are known as Maghs.

115. Mokha.

116. *Jalia*, a small trading or fighting craft commonly used by the Arakanese Portuguese in their expeditions to Bengal.

117. The King did not fulfil his promise.

118. Wounded.

119. For the different accounts regarding Sultan Shuja's death, see Bernier, pp. 112-114; Manucci, Vol. I, pp. 374-376, specially footnote 2, and Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. II, pp. 286-288.

120. Identified.

121. And others that he finally fled to Persia.

122. Bernier says that some of Sultan Banque's servants were responsible for this imprudence (p. 114).

123. Through the excessive ambition to rule.

124. The dates are wrong. The war began in 1657 and lasted till 1660. Careri as usual blindly follows Bernier.
125. The chief qazi, *Qazi-ul-quzzat*. The account of the resistance of the qazi is in line with Tavernier's account (Vol. I, p. 284), though not confirmed by other sources.
126. It was necessary to depose him.
127. Benefit.
128. Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 21 July, 1658 according to Sarkar but the coronation festival, *Jashan*, took place for the first time on 24 Ramazan, 1069 H. (15 June, 1659).
129. The celebrated Peacock-Throne of Shah Jahan. Careri wrongly attributes its construction to Tamerlane.
130. Seated himself on the richest and most superb throne that ever was seen in the world on account of the vast number of precious stones that adorned it.
131. Shahjahanabad or Delhi.
132. Tavernier also says, "From the moment that Aurangzeb took possession of the throne, he would eat neither wheaten bread, flesh, nor fish. He sustained himself with barley bread, vegetables, and sweetmeats, and would not drink any strong liquor" (Vol. I, p. 296). On the puritanical habits of Aurangzeb, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 84 ff; Manucci, Vol. II, p. 332.
133. Foremost.
134. Throne.
135. The Persian envoy Budaq Beg presented himself at the court on 2 June, 1661 (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 35). Bernier gives the alleged purport of the letter, (p. 149) and Careri reproduces it here. Manucci also states that some people believed that the Persian monarch had reproved Aurangzeb for his misdeeds. (Vol. II, p. 52). See Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 47-54, Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.
136. Laughing at him.
137. Alamgir. The Emperor's full title was—Abul Muzaffar Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Padishah Ghazi. Alamgir literally means 'conqueror of the world'.
138. Concluded by challenging him.
139. Shah Jahan died, according to Sarkar, on 22 January, 1666 (*History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 140). Irvine in a footnote gives another date, February 1, 1666 (Manucci, Vol. II, p. 125 *note*). The discrepancy is accounted for by the difference between old and new calenders.
140. To him.
141. The originator of this scandal seems to have been the gossiping Bernier (p. 11) whom other travellers willingly copied. Manucci observes—"this has given occasion to Monsieur Bernier to write many things about the princess, founded entirely on the talk of low people" Vol. I, p. 217.
142. Adorned.
143. Where she died.
144. She died in 1681. The story of poison is baseless. The princess was buried in the *dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin near Humayun's tomb, Delhi.
145. If we now like to glance back at times past, and into the life of Shah Jahan.
146. Prince Dawar Baksh, son of Khusrau, surnamed 'Bulaqi' See Theverot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. III, Note 20.
147. Sultan Khusrau rebelled against his father five months after the latter's accession to the throne.
148. Designing one day.
149. Eldest son.
150. Prince Khurram, afterwards Emperor Shah Jahan. He was not the second but the third son of Jahangir, the second being Prince Parwiz, who died in 1626.
151. From the throne.
152. Awaiting.
153. Live the rest of his days.

154. Make away with him.
155. For details regarding Khusrau's death, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 330-31 and note.
156. With a great number of soldiers.
157. Old age.
158. Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan and father-in-law of Shah Jahan. Careri's account is very inaccurate here. Khurram was chased from province to province by his father's generals. Nur Jahan tried to secure the throne for the Emperor's youngest son and her son-in-law, the do-nothing Shahriyar and Asaf Khan proclaimed Bulaqi as emperor in furtherance of the interests of his own son-in-law Khurram then absent from Hindustan.
159. And on the contrary.
160. Crown.
161. But did not settle him (Bulaqi) on the throne.
162. The event occurred on 28 October 1627 (Beni Prasad, p. 423).
163. Art.
164. A fanciful story which Careri might have heard from some of his imaginative acquaintances. Jahangir was buried at Shahdara near Lahore. A very similar story of Shah Jahan's feigned death is told by Peter Mundy (Vol. II, p. 213).
165. At least two leagues.
166. As if.
167. Which was easy for him.
168. Leading the life of a fakir.
169. Bulaqi was put to death by Shah Jahan in January, 1628 and the person going by that name in Persia must have been an impostor. But more than one European traveller believed in the story of Bulaqi's escape to Persia. Mandelslo claims to have met Polagi (Bulaqi) at Qazvin (p. 256). Peter Mundy was more correctly informed but he shared the belief common among the travellers that Jahangir had nominated Bulaqi or Dawar Baksh his heir. (Vol. II, pp. 107, 206). Manucci also asserts that Bulaqi found his way to Persia and died there (Vol. I, p. 181). Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 272) says "I had an opportunity of conversing with him during my travels in Persia, and drank and ate with him." It is quite conceivable that the Shah entertained a pretender for political reasons.
170. Shah Safi or Safavi II (1629-42), ruler of Persia.
171. Notorious.
172. Conquering in order to reign.

CHAPTER IV

1. In no Indian language is the word used in this sense. The Marathas however referred to the Mughals as the *tambrā* or red (fair) in contradistinction to the Abyssynians who were styled as the *Shamal*—black or dark.
2. Arakan, Tipperah and Assam.
3. Lands.
4. The Himalayas are probably meant.
5. Chughtai, so named after a son of Chingiz Khan.
6. Bhutan.
7. Kandahar.
8. To lay.
9. Great.
- 9a. The extent of Timur's empire is highly exaggerated. Though the Saiyad Kings pretended to rule on behalf of Timur, India never formed an integral part of his empire and he certainly did not carry his arms as far as Poland though he defeated the Ottoman ruler of Constantinople.
10. Clever.
11. Sultan Bayazid I, (1389-1403). His army was defeated by Timur near Angora, and he himself was taken prisoner (21 July, 1402). Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 185, 266. Bernier also repeats the conversation (pp. 167-68).

12. Chingiz Khan, the great Khakan of the Mongols. Timur however did not belong to Chingiz's family. He was a Berlas Turk.
13. Miran Shah who survived Timur, his father, only three years.
14. Sultan Muhammad Mirza, son of Miran Shah. See Table in *Ain*, Vol. I.
15. Mahomet was succeeded by Mirza Sultan Absuid.
16. Sultan Abu Said Mirza, grandson of Miran Shah. He allied himself with the Uzbegs, seized Bokhara and entered Khorasan. He was eventually taken prisoner by Uzun Hasan and killed in 1469.
17. Sultan Omar Shaikh, father of Babar. Omar Shaikh held the small principality of Farghana. Timur's vast empire had already been divided among his numerous descendants.
18. The next ruler.
19. Babar, Zahiruddin Muhammad, who was defeated by Shaibani Khan in 1504. He died in 1530 and not in 1532 as wrongly stated by Careri. Babar in Turki means 'a lion' and not 'bold'. He did not succeed in recovering his ancestral territories as Careri suggests later.
20. Shaibani Khan, the Uzbeg leader.
21. Sher Khan or Sher Shah. He was not a general of Humayun although he had served for a while in Babar's army.
22. Bairam Khan, son of Saif Ali Beg. He was born at Badakshan and entered Humayun's army at the age of 16. The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to him. In 1556, he was appointed *ataliq* (guardian) of Akbar, and later received the title of *Khan Baba*. For details of his life, see *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 315-317.
23. Humayun died in 1556, and not in 1552.
24. Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar.
25. Jahangir Padishah.
26. The sons of Jahangir were Khusrau, Parwiz, Khurram and Shahriyar. Daniyal was a son of Akbar and brother of Jahangir. Khusrau and Parwiz had predeceased their father; only Khurram and Shahriyar were alive at the time of Jahangir's death.
27. Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad. He obtained the title "Shah Jahan" (King of the World) in 1617 during his father's lifetime.
28. For the daily life of the Mughal Emperors from Akbar onwards, see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 65 ff. The *Ain* (Vol. I, *passim*) gives minute details of Akbar's daily life, and this served as a model for his successors. Details about the daily life of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb are available in Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 1-15 and 64-71.
29. He took some food.
30. Necromancy.
31. Aloof.
32. Needs.
33. To whom appeal could be made from the ministers.
34. Did not penetrate beyond the outside.
35. The emperor was venerated as *Zinda Pir* or living saint by his Muslim subjects.
36. Concubines.
37. In this connection it is reported.
38. Indicated.
39. Customary with.
40. Are expected to bathe.
41. A similar story is described by Moll (*India*, p. 214).
42. Omit "and thousands".
43. Salutary.
44. Bound with.
45. Three other chairs.
46. Poisoned by a eunuch one day.
47. And doubting whether he was really dead.



48. Shah Alam was imprisoned with his sons in 1687 after the alleged discovery of his correspondence with the King of Golkonda. He was formally released, according to Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, (Vol. III, p. 47) on 9 May, 1695. Careri arrived at Gagala on 17 March, 1695 and waited on the Emperor on Monday the 21st. The day previous he had seen Shah Alam returning from his father's quarters. His release therefore must be dated earlier than the third week of March.

49. The King of Bijapur was not a kinsman of Azam Shah. The mistake has probably arisen from the fact that Azam was proud of his descent from the royal blood of Persia through his mother, and the ruler of Bijapur was a Shia like the Persian Kings. No reference to Azam's being in league with Bijapur is traceable. He never rebelled against his father. According to Ishwardas (cited in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 51) "in 1683 he strongly resented a false suspicion of the Emperor that he was forming a disloyal intrigue with Dilar Khan, and the Emperor had to soothe his injured feelings."

50. Before the latter was taken prisoner and lost his Kingdom.

51. This is a mistake. Muhammad Azam was born in 1653. Azam was only 42 when Careri came to Galgala.

52. Sultan Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, was born in 1657. In March 1695, he was only 38 years old. He died an exile in Persia either in 1706 or in 1704. See Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 1 and n.

53. The identification of this name is not clear. Is it Sonoegi of Manucci (Vol. II, p. 244) and Tod's 'Soning'? If so, he, along with Durga Das, was the leader of the Rajput forces. The name is spelt 'Sonig' in the *Maasir-ul-Umara* Vol. II, p. 873). Ojha (*History of Mewar*, Vol. II, pp. 556-57) identifies him with Soning, son of Vithaldas Champavata.

54. "Ragiaputi" in the original, Rajputs.

55. Planned.

56. Shambhaji, King of the Marathas. Akbar reached his court in 1681 but Careri makes an error when he says that he had 4,000 followers. The escort consisted of 500 Rathor horse. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 367).

57. Kingling or chieftain. "Regolo" in the original means a ruler.

58. The enemy.

59. Shahu was not with his father Shambhaji when he was taken by surprise at Shangameshwar and he was too young at the time to participate in the war.

60. Violent storm.

61. Shah Sulaiman Safawi (1667-1694).

62. Part II, Book I, Ch. VII, p. 141.

63. Made several efforts.

64. Machination.

65. Gingee, the famous fortress in South Arcot District, Madras. Shivaji got possession of Gingee in 1677. The Mughal siege of this famous fortress lasted for eight years from 1690 to 1698 and was conducted by Zulfiqar Khan. Although the fort ultimately capitulated Zulfiqar Khan failed in his main objective—the capture of Chhatrapati Rajaram.

66. Kam Baksh, the fifth and youngest son of Aurangzeb, was born in 1667. He was slain in the war of succession near Hyderabad on 3 January, 1709. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. I, p. 72).

CHAPTER V

1. Requisite orders.
2. Bakhshi or pay-master. Manucci calls him "the commissary-general of the cavalry" (Vol. IV, p. 408). Towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign there were four bakhshis, the chief of them being styled as mir bakhshi. A detailed account of their duties is available in Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37 ff; Ibn Hasan, pp. 213 ff.

3. Mir'adl is meant. This office was peculiar to India and was not known in Turkey, Persia or Egypt. According to Abul Fazl, the actual appointment of that officer was conditional on the qazi being unable to carry on the whole work. It was not a regular appointment, and the only instance of a mir'adl has been mentioned by Badaoni. (Saran, *Prov. Govt. of the Moghuls*, p. 347).
4. An account of whether ministers behave themselves well or ill.
5. Diwan. For the functions of this officer see Ibn Hasan, pp. 147 ff.
6. A misprint for "Giaghir" in the Italian text.
7. Excessive.
8. *Khan-i-saman* or *Mir Saman*, high Steward. His duties are not mentioned nor his power defined in the *Ain*. Manucci writes, "He has charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things" (Vol. II, p. 419). See Ibn Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 48 ff.
9. He is a kind of Treasurer General.
10. Diwan-i-khas, Hall of Private Audience.
11. *Ghusal Khan*, 'Private Chamber'. "Between the Divan Khan and the female residences there was an apartment in which Akbar used to take his bath, after which a few trusted persons were admitted to see him. Later on, the divan and bakhshi were admitted for state business, and gradually certain nobles of the court were also allowed in. Thus state business came to be transacted there, and the chamber, by its proximity to the bathroom, came to be known as the *Ghusal Khana* (or bathroom)." Ibn Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff. Under Shah Jahan this was named *Daulat Khan-i-Khas*.
12. A court of justice from "adl", 'doing justice'.
13. This is highly exaggerated. The share of the State (land-revenue) was one-third.
14. The cruellest.

CHAPTER VI

1. Very fruitful.
- 1a. For a contemporary account of the province and its products see Bernier, pp. 437-46.
2. Craftsmen.
3. Remains.
4. Smyrna (Ismir), in Asia Minor.
5. Yemen. See Bernier, p. 202. "Turkey cannot dispense with the coffee, which she received from Yemen, or Arabia Felix."
6. They send.
7. Mocha or Mokha in Arabia.
8. Bab-el-Mandeb (Arab for "The Gate of Tears", the strait between Arabia and Africa which connects the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean. For the origin of the name, see *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. III, p. 91.
9. Achin in the northern extremity of the island of Sumatra.
10. To India.
11. Eighty-two crores.
12. Various estimates have been given of the revenues of the Mughals towards the close of the 17th century. According to *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, in 1695 the total revenue was a little over 20 crores. This is an underestimate as the revenues of only 17 subahs were taken into account. Manucci's estimate of about 38 Crores (1697) is probably nearer the true figure although he omitted the revenues of Bengal. See Sarkar, *India of Aurangzib*, p. xxxii.
13. Thevenot (See Part III, Book I, Chap. III).
14. De Laet. For the wealth of the Mughals, see pp. 107-12.
15. Pyrard heard that the Mughal could put into the field 30,000 elephants, 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot (Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 251). The foreign travellers

were prepared to accept any estimate of the Emperor's wealth and military strength.

CHAPTER VII

1. For the various kinds of swords and other offensive weapons used by the Mughals, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 74 ff.
2. Curved.
3. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.
4. Helmets.
5. With the obligation to maintain.
6. From *hazar*, 'one thousand'. It applied to a mansabdar of 1000 who was an officer of high rank. The word, according to Irvine (*op. cit.*), was also applied to "an officer of artillery, generally of garrison artillery" (p. 157).
7. Cuhzariis, probably a misprint for Du hazari (commander of two thousand); Panges, *Panj hazari* (commander of five thousand); Hechets, *hasht-hazari* (commander of eight thousand); Deh-Hazariis, *Dah-hazari* (commander of ten thousand); Duazdehazariis, *Dawazdah hazari* (commander of twelve thousand). In Akbar's time, Prince Salim was a mansabdar of 10,000, which was the highest mansab (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 308).
8. "The salutation, called *taslim*, consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering." "Upon taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a *mansab*, a *jagir* or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule is to make three *taslims*; but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made." (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 158).
9. Horsemen.
10. Which is called *mansab*.
11. Careri has apparently no clear idea about the *mansabdari* system. He did not know that there were no less than sixty six different grades of mansabs in Akbar's time the lowest being that of 10 horses. Mansabdars of superior grades were known as omrahs—the honorific plural of amir.
12. Bernier (p. 215) writes, "Rouzindars are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the *mansebdars*."
13. Horsemen.
14. *Do-aspa* cavalry.
15. Cost.
16. Attached.
17. Shutarnal or camel swivel.
18. Like swivel-guns on our barques.
19. Bronze.
20. Led close by.
21. The light artillery always accompanies him.
22. Bernier says that their pay was limited to thirty-two rupees (p. 217).
23. The ruler of Chittor had a militia of 22,000 horse and 82,000 foot. (P. Saran, p. 266).
24. Machinations.
25. Doubtless Bernier's *Augans* or Afghans.
26. Of whatever kind.
27. Income.
28. Punctually.
29. Are short of pay.
30. More than 300,000 etc.
31. Were stationed.



32. Comprised.
33. Consisted of.
34. Panhala, historic hill-fort in Kolhapur State, Bombay (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 396-397). Bidar Bakht, the eldest son of Azam Shah, attacked the place in 1695. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 37).
35. For Manucci's estimate of the strength of the army about the emperor's person see Vol. II, p. 422.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Sans. *varshagrantha*, the birth-day anniversary, from *varsha* 'year' and *grantha* 'knot'.
2. Hind. *Tol*, weight, 'custom of weighing'. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Chap. XXVI.
Aurangzeb discontinued the custom of distributing his weight in money.
3. And those people are accustomed every year to make a knot in a cord which they etc.
4. Scented waters.
5. This room was quite filled with mirrors.
6. Beyond all belief.
7. Symmetrical and enriched etc.
8. For a description of the Peacock-throne see Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 303-305.
9. Fable.
10. Aurangzeb as a puritan discouraged and discontinued practices of non-Islamic origin but it is not correct to say that none of his predecessors had ever weighed themselves. Both Roe and Hawkins refer to this custom. In fact Roe witnessed the ceremony. "September 1—was the king's birth-day and the solemnity of his weighing to which I went" (p. 378). Terry was also with Roe and gives a description of the scene (cited in f.n. p. 378 of Roe's *Embassy*, ed. Foster). Also see Hawkins, p. 440. Careri wrongly describes the birth-day and weighing as two different festivals. The latter forms part of the former. The other festival was that of Nawroz or New year's day.
11. Hunchbacked.
12. More like woods.
13. This is the general complaint of contemporary European travellers who visited India.
14. Well-to-do.
15. *Haji*, a pilgrim to Mecca; from *hajj*, the pilgrimage, to Mecca made in the 12th month of the Muhammadan year. See Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 155-159.
16. For which they make.
17. Waterfowl.
18. Rajputs.
19. Avicenna (Abu Ali al-Husain ibn Abdullah ibn Sina), Arabian philosopher and scientist (980 A.D.—1037 A.D.). His European reputation is based mainly on his *Canon of Medicine*.
20. Use.
21. Add "caresses" after "allurements".
22. Clash together. The instrument seems to be *karatals* or cymbals.
23. A misprint for *Cira* or turban.
24. Arab. *Zafaran*, saffron. The true saffron (*Crocus Sativus*) is cultivated in Kashmir only. *Haldi* or turmeric is known as country saffron.
25. The reference is to *saptapadi* or seven steps.
26. Born.
27. Food.
- 27a. Methwold also makes a similar statement: "They come into the world without much trouble to their mothers; for they are up again about their



business in three or four days, some the same day." (*Relations of Golconda*, p. 26).

28. Go to wash.
29. Walk.
30. Almost as soon as they are born.
31. Nayar, see Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. I.
32. If she wishes to be.
33. Is borne sitting, with drums beating, followed by a long train of kindred and friends.
34. Who has been meanwhile etc.
35. Scented oil.
36. With earth.
37. Have.
38. From their caste.
39. For Mughal efforts to suppress *sati*, see *ante*, p. 363, Note 39.
40. Read "Certainly" after 'Mogul'.
41. To their utmost power.
42. This Command.
43. Practised.
44. Noted.

CHAPTER IX

1. Hurricanes called typhoons, six (*sic.*) months from the South and as many from the North.
2. Moving.
3. Except for.
4. A tiny cloud.
5. Read "For the rest", before "Indostan".
6. And vegetables.
7. Press.
8. Simples=Medicinal herbs.
9. Kollur. See Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. IX. Careri's account is obviously based on that of Tavernier.
10. See Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 58.
11. Discovering. Tavernier (Vol. II, pp. 59-61) gives the same method of digging. See also *Relations of Golconda*, pp. 30 ff.
12. Sifting it anew.
13. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 112; Ovington, p. 121; and *Relations of Golconda*, p. 32.
14. Rammalakota, about 20 miles south of Karnul (Kurnool), the identification of which was a matter of dispute for many years. According to Ball, its "position is fairly indicated on the small map of India which accompanies the Revised French edition of Tavernier's Travels, published at Rouen in 1713." (Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 43 *n* 2).
15. Sukadana, a port of the island of Borneo. The principal port for export of diamonds is now Pontianak. Ovington (p. 121) says that Borneo diamonds were much superior to those of India.
16. More accurately cheetah, *Acinonyx Jubatus*.
17. With the rope.
18. Apparently Careri never saw the animal for even the largest ox cannot approach it in bulk and size. Finn writes of *Rhinoceros unicornis* "The largest of our rhinoceroses and the fourth largest land mammal, the other three being the African and Indian elephants and the African square-lipped or white Rhinoceros." (Finn, *Sterndale's Mammalia of India*, pp. 186-187). *Rhinoceros Sumatrensis* which is confined only in a distant corner of the country is much smaller and is about 4 ft. 6 in. at the shoulder (Finn, p. 189). Terry also makes a similar statement (Terry in Foster, p. 304).

19. Sanderson mentions the following: Driving into *Kheddahs* or enclosures, hunting with trained females, pitfalls and noosing from trained elephants' backs (*Thirteen years among the Wild Beasts of India*, p. 70). Careri mentions only hunting with trained females and pitfalls.
20. A female animal, bound.
21. Sanderson definitely states that "the period of heat is not marked by any particular signs in the female. In approaching a male elephant, a female desirous of his attentions utters certain sounds, and courts his society; but only those conversant with elephants would notice this." (Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 94).
22. The habit of.
23. Sanderson roundly contradicts this notion. He says—"I have myself, on four different occasions, witnessed the act—once by two animals belonging to a wild herd in the jungles; on the others, by animals which had just been caught, and which were at large within the Kheddah enclosures. On each, the female elephant stood to receive the male in the manner common to all quadrupeds" pp. 94-95.
24. According to Sanderson the operation needs a party of four or five steady females, ridden by their mahouts, and not one female elephant in lust, pp. 73-74.
25. To domesticate him.
26. Keeper.
27. Even its keeper.
28. The period of gestation is not definitely known. It varies according to Sanderson's information from 18 to 22 months according to the sex of the calf (p. 59). Abul Fazl says that the period of gestation is generally eighteen lunar months. In a recent case, well authenticated, the period was about $21\frac{1}{2}$ months, the calf being female. "The period of gestation in this case is about 21 months and 18 days. In the case of a male calf reported by Corse (*Tr. Roy. Soc.* 1799) it was 20 months and 18 days." (A. Aiyappan, *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, Vol. 46, No. I, April 1946, p. 182).
- 28a. "The general opinion of experienced natives is that it attains 120 years in exceptional cases, but more generally to about 80 years. My own opinion is that the elephant attains at least to 150 years." Sanderson, p. 56.
29. Sanderson says, "Half a ton is a good load for an elephant for continuous marching", p. 87. He does not consider the elephant satisfactory "as a beast of burden".
30. Linschoten makes a similar statement. "In the Island of Seylon there are also great numbers, which are esteemed the best and sensiblest of all the worlde, for wheresoever they meet with any other Elephantes (the Indians report for a truth, that they have tryed it) those Elephants of other Countries do reverence and honour to the Elephants of Seylon" (Vol. II, p. 2).
31. Their maintenance is very expensive.
- 31a. Normally elephants are herbivorous. If the *Ain* is to be relied on, no meat was served to elephants in the imperial stables.
32. Butter, green sugarcane.
33. Very many.
34. Musk-deer, see also Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Chap. XXIX, Note 1. It is not found in Rajputana, nor does the beast survive the removal of the musk pod.
35. Afterwards.
36. Almost all.
37. Seems to be male Baya or weaver bird during the breeding season.
38. Of good flavour. Also see Thevenot for this black-boned chicken (Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XXIX, Note 3).
39. On one side.
40. *Paisas*. The value varied between 46 and 56 to a rupee during the 17th century. Thevenot, however, makes the rupee equivalent to $32\frac{1}{2}$ to $33\frac{1}{2}$ *paisas*. (Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. IX, Note 16).

41. For the different meanings of the term see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. IV, Note 20. "The pagoda is an original Hindu coin, called *Varaha*, from the symbol on it of the varaha or boar, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, which formed the crest of the Chalukyas and of the Vijayanagar Kings." (Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 801). Ball (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 329) writes "Pagoda, new=3½ rupees; old=4½ rupees." In 1818 it was reckoned as equivalent to 3½ rupees. (Hobson-Jobson, p. 653). Manucci (Vol. IV, pp. 132-133) says that 150 pagodas was equal to 520 rupees, thus making a pagoda worth nearly 3½ rupees. Careri makes it worth a sequin which according to Sir Isaac Newton was worth 9s. 5d., and according to Yule, 9s. 3d. Since a rupee was equal to 2s. 3d., the pagoda of Careri would be equivalent to a little more than 4 rupees.
42. A Spanish coin worth 16s. 9d. according to Sir Isaac Newton.
43. Profit.
44. A Persian silver coin the exchange value of which fluctuated from 16 to 18 pence when Careri wrote. See Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, pp. 125-126; Thevenot, Part III, Book I, Chap. I, Note 14.
45. Arab. This is equal to 100 crores, not ten.
46. Hind. *Man*, Maund. See Thevenot, Pt. III, Book I, Chap. IX.
47. Seers (*ibid*).
48. From time to time.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

1. With free exercise of their religion.
2. The Mughals were Chagatai Turks. By Turkish sect Careri probably means *sunni* as opposed to the Persians who are mostly *shias*.
3. Most of the European travellers who wrote about India believed that the Hindu theory of transmigration of souls was borrowed from Pythagoras.
4. The identity is not clear. The most famous Hindu law-giver is Manu.
5. Animals.
6. Different sects.
7. Thevenot (Part III, Book I, Chap. XXXVIII) also mentions that the castes and tribes of the Indians "are reckoned in all to be fourscore and four in number."
8. Unless.
9. Vegetables.
10. The Maratha or Maharashtra Brahmins are meant. The three main sub-divisions of the caste are, the Konkanastha, the Desastha and the Saraswata (*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III Ethnographical, p. xxix). For a list of the Maratha Brahmins, see Wilson, *Indian Caste*, Vol. II, pp. 18-50.
11. Brahmins of Telingana or the districts inhabited by the Telegu-speaking people. They have eight main sub-divisions, among whom however neither inter-dining nor inter-marriage is permissible (Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, pp. 91-92).
12. Kanarese Brahmins. (Sherring, Vol. I, pp. 95-97).
13. Dravida. Maharastra, Tailanga, Dravida, Karnata and Gurjara are grouped as pancha Dravida or the five branches of the Dravida Brahman caste. See Sherring, Vol. I, pp. 27 ff.
14. Gujaratis. The two main sections are the Audichya or the Northerners, and the Nagars. See *Census of India*, 1931, pp. xxvi-xxvii.
15. Gaud Brahmins who like the Dravidas have five main sections collectively known as Pancha Gaudas. (1) Kanyakubja or Kanaujiya, (2) Saraswata, (3) Gaud, (4) Maithila and (5) Utkala. (Sherring, Vol. I, pp. 19 ff.).

16. Kanaujiya or Kanyakubja Brahmans of the United Provinces. A well-known proverb *Tin Kanauji terah chulha* (Three Kanaujis require thirteen kitchens) refers to their exclusiveness. Risley, *The People of India*, p. 159.
17. Trihuti. See Brahmans of Goa who claim to be Gauda Saraswata, but are contemptuously called Shenvis on account of their fish-eating habit by other Brahmans of Maharashtra, believe that their ancestors migrated from Trihut or Mithila with the image of their patron deity Shanta Durga.
18. A misprint for *Gayavali* in the original, Gayali or Brahmans of Gaya.
19. Probably Gangaputra.
20. Hindus are not permitted to marry a *sapinda*, one entitled to pinda i.e. any person of seven generations in direct line of ascent or descent. Svagotra marriage or marriage within the same sept is also prohibited among the Brahmans and other high castes. See *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*, Āchāra Adhyāya, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. XXI, pp. 94 *et seq.*
21. Cousin marriage is common among the Saraswat Brahmans of Goa with which region Careri was particularly familiar. Other Brahmans hold such matrimony in abhorrence. The Deshasthas and the Konkanasthas—the Maharashtra Brahmans *par excellence*, would not even think of it.
22. Add 'for courage'.
23. Legally no Hindu is bound to observe the rules of monogamy. In practice however the poor people are monogamous for economic reasons.
24. Choutia. The Raja of Ramnagar was styled in the Portuguese records as the King Choutia since he used to receive Chauth. (Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, 114 n and *Military System of the Marathas*, Chap. II).
25. Grassias.
26. Mahmudi—a silver coin of Persia. According to Mandelslo (p. 68) it was equivalent to a shilling. Fryer gives its exchange value at somewhat "less than an English Shilling." He further adds that "2½ Mamoodoes is reckoned a Rupee. Yet to change Mamoodoes into Rupees there is sometimes given 3." (Vol. II, pp. 125-126). Ball suggests that its exchange value fluctuated from 8d. to 1s. (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 330).
27. Formerly a small state ruled by a Rajput chief, now a *taluk* in the Nasik district, Bombay. Careri rightly describes it as full of woods. The town of Peint is about 73 miles from Surat. The state lapsed to the British Government in 1837. *Imp. Gaz.*, XX, pp. 100-101.
28. Prabhus or Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhus as they prefer to style themselves. As early as Shivaji's time they claimed to be Kshatriyas. The Prabhus distinguished themselves both as men of arms and men of letters. Balaji Avji, Shivaji's Private Secretary, and Baji Prabhu the famous hero both belonged to this caste. In recent times also they have produced many distinguished men of whom Sir Mahadev Chaubal may be mentioned here. The Pathare Prabhus abound near Bassein and are essentially city people. In Maharashtra widows of all non-Brahman castes are entitled to remarry.
29. Meat except beef.
30. One of these tribes. The Pathare and the Chandraseniya Prabhu Kayasthas usually do not inter-marry. The latter are more numerous than the former who number only a few hundred.
31. Sutar or Barhai, carpenters. The two divisions mentioned by the author are Konkani and Gujarati. For proverbs regarding Sutars, see Risley, pp. 135, 316.
32. Kansars or coppersmiths, and workers in copper, brass and other metals.
33. All kinds of meat.
34. Gaulis or Gowalas, milkmen. (Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, pp. 367 ff.).
35. Gardeners who trade mainly in flowers and garlands.
- 35a. For the Sonars or goldsmiths and their subdivisions see Enthoven, Vol. III, pp. 338-344.
36. Should not be confused with the Vallalars of the Madras Presidency who try to observe the orthodox customs of the Brahmans. Careri probably refers

to the Valar, a section of the Mangs, among whom widow remarriage is common and who "eat all kinds of flesh except pork." See Enthoven, Vol. II, pp. 434-445.

37. Kunbi, Kalambi or Kurmi, the great agricultural caste of India known by various designations in different localities. (See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. I, Ch. XXXVIII, Note 29).

37a. Chaudhuris, Patels, Raouts, Naiks etc.

37b. The bridegrooms of some untouchable castes e.g., *mangs* were not permitted to ride a horse. They rode a bullock in their marriage procession. See Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 231.

38. Does Careri mean the *Vaidus* a nomadic tribe of professional medicine men divided into three main section—Jholiwalas (the sound approximates the Doblas), Dadichewalas and Chataiwalas? The Jholiwalas eat deer, jackals, rats and squirrels (Enthoven, Vol. III, pp. 406-410). The Dublas of Broach, Surat and Thana cannot be reasonably identified with the Doblas of Careri as they do not eat such vermin as rats and squirrels and refrain from beef and carrion. Moreover they are peasants and agricultural labourers and cannot be described as "Wizards inhabiting the woods."

39. A misprint for Bats.

40. Crocodiles?

41. Widows.

42. Bhathelas, a subdivision of the Brahman caste who are agriculturists by pursuit found mostly in Surat district and Baroda state. (Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 225-228).

43. One thread.

44. Bhandaris, toddy-drawers and distillers. They are divided into eight endogamous sections of which the Kitte and Shinde correspond to Careri's *Kitas* and *Shiadas*. "They eat the flesh of Goats, sheep, fowls, hares, deer, wild boars and fish" and drink liquor. Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 96-104.

45. Tend.

46. Dhobis, washermen.

47. The fishing tribes mentioned here are Kolis or Sonkalis, Gabits otherwise known as Kharuis, Vaitis, "a degraded section of the Sonkalis" inhabiting Thana District and Machhis.

48. Should not be confused with Sarothias of the Thana District. The reference to the two distinct tribes, the one called Salukis, the other Goles, indicate a fishing community. The Solankis and Koli form two of the ten endogamous divisions of the Machhis. Of these the Koli, Dhimar and Kharva inter-dine but "in the Panch Mahals Machhis are divided into two groups, Kharva and Solanki which do not generally intermarry." A *Machhi* widow "may marry a younger brother of her deceased husband" Enthoven, Vol. II, pp. 397-400.

49. A subdivision of the Lamanis or Vanjaris. (Enthoven, Vol. II, p. 341).

50. Bhansalis or Vegas, who are closely connected with the Lohanas and Lavanas. At present they are labourers and cultivators rather than dealers in salt. Widow remarriage is permitted among them but they are vegetarians as a rule (Enthoven, Vol. I, p. 113).

51. Crawfish and similar shell fish.

52. Obviously a misprint for Bhatias, an important trading community. Careri wrongly says that they eat nothing but fish. Except in some parts of the Punjab and Sind they are strict vegetarians. Wives still continue to be costly. "The supply of marriageable girls falls much short of the demand, consequently the bridegroom, besides presents to the girl in the shape of ornaments and clothes of the value of Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000, has in some cases to pay the girl's father large sums in the shape of purchase money" (Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 133-145).

53. A mixed tribe of the Kathis and Ahirs, found mostly in Bahiravad in Kathiawar. Careri wrongly asserts that their widows do not remarry. Widow remarriage is permitted and commonly practised among Babrias (Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 44-48).



54. Kathis, a fighting tribe of professional marauders. Careri is again wrong about widow remarriage, which they permit and practice (Enthoven, Vol. II, pp. 165-70).
55. Only Rajput widows practise sati and are not permitted to remarry.
56. Not to be confused with Hindi *farash*—a menial. The translator has made an important omission here. The original Italian has in parenthesis "*Alparqueros detti da Portughesi*" or the sandal-makers of the Portuguese. The farashes are not sandal-makers. The caste or castes that go under the general name of Chambhar are probably meant but all these castes do not necessarily inter-dine or inter-marry though some of them may eat carrian. See Enthoven, Vol. I, pp. 260-271.
57. Nayars.
58. Cape Comorin from Sanskrit Kumari Devi, whose temple is situated there.
59. This is the Pulayan caste, also known as Cheruman, one of the lowest in social position in Malabar. Thurston, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff; *Malabar Gaz.*, p. 133. See also Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. I.
60. If they do not wish to be beaten.
61. Compare Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. I, Note 28. Also see Mandelslo, p. 88.
62. Forced immediately to wash.
63. Whom they are striving to convert.
64. Many.
65. Scrupulous.
66. Animals.
67. Other tribes.
68. By others.
69. Which the penitents are allowed to exercise everywhere.
70. Bairagi or Vairagi.
71. Ravana. Thevenot, Ovington, and Tavernier all support the legend that the fakirs traced their origin to him. (See Thevenot, Book I, Chap. XXXIX, Note 14).
72. Careri may be referring here to Raghuvanshi Rama who did wander for many years in the forests as an ascetic; the sect in that case is the one known as Ramayet.
73. Republics or states.

CHAPTER II

1. Hanuman.
2. Ravana, king of Lanka (Ceylon). The story forms the theme of the great Indian Epic, the Ramayana.
3. On which theme.
4. Probably a corruption of Mahalakshmi. The character attributed to her is absurd.
- 4a. Exactly as if.
5. In the same way.
6. Krishna, one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The legend of his having 16,000 wives is to be found in *Bhagavata Purana*.
7. Vaitarami, the river of the Hindu nether world which corresponds to the Styx of Greek mythology, see *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. IX, Garuda Purana, pp. 11-12.
8. Or Acheron.
9. The reference is probably to Canto XI of the Gita where Srikrishna revealed himself to Arjuna as the supreme deity pervading the entire universe.
10. The four Vedas.
11. They believe.

12. To be more accurate there are seven regions including earth viz., *Bhu*, *Bhuva*, *Svar*, *Mahas*, *Jana*, *Tapas* and *Satva*.
13. Hindus believe in a common ancestor Manu from whose name the word *manava* or man is derived. But the story given here is fantastic in the extreme.
14. The Muslims believe in the story of Adam and Eve which they borrowed from the Christian scripture.
15. The sacred thread or Janeu. "The whole cord is tied together by knot called *Brahma-Granthi*, which has three parts, representing Brahma, Vishnu and Siva" (Mrs. Stevenson, p. 32). Pyrard also speaks of "a cord of three strands of cotton which they (Brahmans) wear next the skin" (Vol. I, pp. 372-373). Pietro Della Valle also refers to "a fillet of three braids" but he knew that the distinction of wearing it was not confined to the Brahmins (Vol. I, pp. 88-89). The privilege of wearing the sacred thread is not the monopoly of the Brahmins but is shared by the first three castes.
16. Under.
17. Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesa, the Hindu trinity.
18. Eat any food unless they have it on.
19. Fast sometimes for several days.
20. From.
21. Sanskrit *Bhatta*, a learned Brahman.
22. Tilak.
23. He gives a feast to all the tribe who unitedly receive him again.
24. No great difficulty.
25. Believe that.
26. The Hindus believe that "it is only by holding on to the tail of a cow that the dying man hopes to cross the horrible river of blood and filth, called Vaitarani." "If the dying man has the physical strength, he should take the cow's tail in his hand and present it, together with a *tulasi* leaf, to a Brahman." (Mrs. Stevenson, p. 141).
- 26a. Provided that.
27. See Thevenot, Part III, Book II, Chap. I, f.n. 31.
- 27a. See François Pyrard (Vol. I, p. 384), "he leaves his arms or some other signal at the door, and the others will dare not enter until he be gone forth." Also Pietro Della Valle "The Gentile *Nairi* have no peculiar Wives; but all Women are common amongst them; and when any man repairs to visit one of them he leaves his weapon at the door, which sign sufficiently debars all others from entering to disturb him." Mandelslo also refers to this custom (p. 88).
28. Polyandry was once quite common among the Nayars. See Note 27a above. Pyrard observes, "The Nairs may have but one wife at the time; but it is not so with the women; for every woman may have as many as three husbands at once, if she likes" (Vol. I, p. 384).
29. Careri did not visit Bengal and his account of exposure of babies is based entirely on that of Tavernier (Vol. II, pp. 167-168), but whereas Tavernier says that the babies so left are liable to be tormented by the crows, Careri suggests that they are exposed with that very purpose. The large percentage of blindness in Bengal can however be otherwise explained. The practice is entirely unknown to-day and was by no means common all over the province even in the 17th century.

CHAPTER III

1. Various.
2. Very rough hills.
3. Round stone.
4. A fine tree.
5. Or other thing.



6. A misprint for "Giagranate" in the original text, English 'Juggur Naut'.
7. Jagannath at Puri, Benares on the Ganges, Mathura on the Jumna and Tirupati in the Madras Presidency. Careri commits the same error as Thevenot and Tavernier when he says that Jagannath is situated on one of the mouths of the river Ganges.
8. Kesava Raya, a name of Krishna. The most well known temple of Kesava Raya is at Brindavan.
9. Near there are other Pagodas and the tomb of their prophet Kabir.
10. Beni-madhava=Madhava or Krishna with braided locks (veni). Tavernier, (Vol. II, p. 181) thus describes the idol :—"Among the idols on the great altar one stands 5 or 6 feet in height; neither the arms, legs, nor trunk are seen, only the head and neck being visible; all the remainder of the body, down to the altar, is covered by a robe which increases its width below. Sometimes on its neck there is rich chain of gold, rubies, pearls or emeralds." The mosque built on the site of the old temple still bears the name of Beni-madhava. Benares, however, is specially sacred to Siva or Visvanath and not to Krishna.
11. Ranchordas. Careri's account of Benares temples is based on that of Tavernier who mentions two pagodas, those of Richourdas and Gopaldas. Ball and Crooke are obviously wrong (Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 185) in suggesting that the two idols were so named. Most likely the two idols were set up by two Vaishnavas Ranchordas and Gopaldas and the deities were named after them Ranchhor and Gopal—the god who ran away from battlefield and the god who looked after cattle—Krishna in his different manifestations.
12. Within it is a marble balustrade.
13. This is incorrect. The idol was that of Kesava or Krishna. Careri again repeats Tavernier's inaccurate statement.
14. Tavernier refers to "two courses of animals chiefly monkeys, carved in relief." (Vol. II, p. 187).
15. Tirupati, commonly called Tripetty. The principal temple is at Tirumala, 6 miles distant. Pilgrims flock from all parts of India there, bearing large offerings with them. (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 393 ff. It is not very near the coast and is certainly far from Cape Comorin.
16. Vijayanagar.
17. The reference seems to be to the Vitthala temple, "the most splendid building in the city", though the pillars are not of marble. Commenced by Krishna Deva Raya in 1513 the construction of the temple was probably not completed on account of the final disaster that befell the city about fifty years later i.e. in 1565 (Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, pp. 116 ff.).
18. The car festival was annually held at Vijayanagar (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 255, 262). Nicolo Conti, who visited Vijaynagar in 1420-21, writes :—"At a certain time of the year their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god."
19. Afterwards presented.
20. The great diamond which Mir Jumla presented to Shah Jahan was the celebrated Koh-i-Nur. (Tavernier, Vol. I, p. 315; Vol. II, App. I; Bernier, p. 22; Manucci, Vol. I, p. 237). It did not come from a Vijayanagar temple as Careri asserts but from the Kollur mine. Careri confuses it with one of the four large diamonds mentioned by Garcia da Orta which according to information received by him "had been seen at Bisnaguer" (See Dr. Ball's very learned examination of this subject in Appendix I, Vol. II of Tavernier).
21. Tanjore. It appears that the Nayak of Tanjore, Vijayaraghava became a vassal, by 1656 A.D., of Bijapur and not of Golkonda. Mir Jumla, therefore, could not have captured the place. Thevenot (Part III, pp. 91 and 105) writing in 1666 observes, "There are many Naiques to the South of St. Thomas who

are Sovereigns. The Naique of Madura is one. He of Tangiour (Tanjore) is at present a Vassal to the King of Vigianour." (Vriddhagirisan, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, p. 140).

22. Rameswaram, in Madura District, Madras, on the island of Pamban. Tradition attributes the original shrine to Rama, the hero of the great Hindu epic. The present temple has been highly praised by Fergusson as a perfect example of Dravidian style of architecture.
23. *Lingam* from *Linga*. Siva is usually worshipped in the form of a phallus. The phallus is not infrequently represented to be standing on its female counterpart commonly called *Gauripatta*. The principal lingam is of stone while the one commonly attributed to Rama and his consort Sita is supposed to be of sand.
24. For the custom of cleaning metal pots after the eclipse is over and replacing old earthen jars by new ones, see Mrs. Stevenson, pp. 351 ff.
25. The Brahmins having given notice of it everybody breaks the earthen vessels.
26. Discovered by Brahmins from their magical books.
27. Brass.
28. Meanwhile attend.
29. Rice, grains and other produce.
30. The Divali and the Holi.
31. Some.
32. Careri is probably indebted to Bernier for this account of Mango trick (Bernier, pp. 153-154). Fryer (Vol. II, pp. 104-105) also mentions this trick of which a more detailed account is given by Tavernier (Vol. I, p. 55).
33. "Reguli", petty princes.

CHAPTER IV

1. A favourable opportunity.
2. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon.
3. On horseback to the Captain's tent accordingly.
4. At 3 o'clock.
5. Sikander Adil Shah, son of Ali Adil Shah, the last Sultan of Bijapur was a minor when he succeeded his father in 1672. He was taken prisoner in 1686 when Bijapur capitulated and died in captivity about fourteen years later.
6. Obviously lunar years as the prince was born in 1668.
7. The date is wrong. Golkonda was annexed to the Mughal Empire on 1 October, 1687. (Manucci, Vol. II, p. 306 n 2).
8. Shahaji Bhonsle, Shivaji's father, did not die in prison, though he was once placed under arrest and put into prison. He died of an accident at a village in the Mysore state. See Sen, *Sivachhatrapati*, pp. 90-91.
9. Rajapur, Rajgad, Kharepatan and Dabhol.
10. Razing.
11. Probably an echo of a similar story about Shivaji's grandfather Maloji whose sudden and unexpected opulence was attributed to the discovery of buried treasure through divine grace.
12. An indirect hint about the popular suspicion about the young prince's legitimacy. See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, pp. 4-5, f.n. 5.
13. In fief.
14. Pam Nayak, the Berad chieftain, inflicted a defeat on the Mughal general Dilir Khan in 1680. He loyally stood by his master the Sultan of Bijapur during his last war with the Mughals but had to submit to the latter in November 1687. He died in January 1688 (Sarkar, Vol. V, pp. 216-17). His nephew Pidia Nayak gave the emperor much trouble.
15. Twenty-seven villages. From "Sattais" (twenty-seven) and Sans. "palli" (Village). The headquarters were at Shorapur or Surapur now in Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State.



16. As in Book III, Chap. I Careri here uses the term indiscriminately for all low castes. The people meant here are obviously Berads. Fryer also groups *Coolies*, *Frasses* and *Hoiencores* together and calls them "the Dregs of the People". (Vol. II, p. 108. Also Iyer, *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, 197 *et seq.*).
17. Sidi Masud, regent of Bijapur during the minority of Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah for five years. Careri is wrong when he says that Masud defended Bijapur against Aurangzeb, Sayyid Makhdum, surnamed Sharza Khan, was the general commanding the Bijapur troops. The siege lasted a little over seventeen months from 1 April, 1685 to 12 September, 1686. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, Chap. XIV).
18. Abul Hasan (1672-1687) surnamed "Tana-shah", "the dainty King." See Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. VII, Note 14; Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 321.
19. Bitterly disgusted.
20. Own territory.
21. Muhammad Sultan, eldest son of Aurangzeb, who died in 1677-78. The reference is to the Mughal invasion of 1656. For his marriage with the daughter of the King of Golkonda, see Thevenot, Pt. III, Bk. II, Ch. VII, Note 10; according to Khafi Khan (Vol. I, pp. 746, 749) sarkar Ramgir on the borders of Berar and Bidar formed the dowry.
22. Dowry.
23. Prince Akbar sailed for Persia in February 1687. A written promise securing the succession to the throne of Golkonda for Muhammad Sultan was also obtained but kept secret all the time.
24. On the pretext of the passage given to *Savaji*.
25. Here Careri records nothing but bazaar gossip.
26. The siege of Golkonda began on 7 February, 1687. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 362).
27. Bhaganagar or Hyderabad.
28. Cut stones.
29. The siege actually lasted seven months and a half. Golkonda was captured by bribery on 21 September, 1687. (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 382).
30. The prisoner.
31. Manucci (Vol. II, pp. 306-308) also says that the Sultan was insulted and beaten at the instance of Aurangzeb. Ishwardas gives quite a different account. (See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 385 *n.*) Abul Hasan was sent to Daulatabad in February 1688 on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year.
32. "Pannaich" a misprint for "Pammaich".
33. Pam Nayak, on the contrary, loyally stood by Bijapur in 1686. See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 216.
34. Equally,

CHAPTER V

1. Lose.
2. See Book II, Ch. I.
3. See Book II, Ch. I.
4. Hind. *machin*, Marathi *nachni*, (*Lolium Temulentum*). The seeds are found mixed with those of wheat or other cereals. (See Watt, Vol. V, p. 90).
5. The hard law of necessity.
6. No food.
7. See Book II, Ch. I.
8. Compelled.
9. I concealed myself in great fear.
10. Belgaum, headquarters of the district of the same name in Bombay. It was not a very big place either under the Muslims or the Marathas. (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 515 ff.).

11. Nevertheless.
12. Understanding.
13. Shahapur due south of Belgaum.
14. Fasting.
15. Jamboti, a small town eighteen miles south-west of Belgaum on the road leading by Kunkumbi and the Chorle pass into Portuguese territory (*Belgaum Dist. Gaz.*, pp. 572-573).
16. Desai, from Mar. *desai*, a hereditary officer with extensive powers in charge of a district, in western and southern India. (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 306).
17. Likewise.
18. To them.
19. Tivi in Bardez district, Goa settlement.
20. S. Michael, one of the three forts of Tivi, mentioned in an official document of 1726 at Goa according to Cavaliero P. Pissurlencar.
21. Pumburpa, north of Goa. (See map attached to Fonseca's book).
22. From Pumburpa.
23. At the rudeness of the Portuguese soldier.
24. Escort.
25. A comfortable.
26. Channel.
27. This had happened.
28. Alas I am suffering from wounds inflicted by my own missiles.
29. Failing.
30. No. 13 of Pietro Della Valle's Chart, opposite St. John of God on the left side of the hill. Della Valle was at Goa when the news of canonisation of Francis Xavier arrived (Vol. I, pp. 170-171). A description of the reliquary containing the body is given by François Pyrard (Vol. II, Part I, p. 62). An illustration of the "Noble Tomb" ordered by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to which Careri refers, is given opposite p. 62 of Pyrard, Vol. II, Part I. Dr. Fryer also visited the shrine (Vol. II, p. 12) and Mandelslo refers to the miraculous preservation of the Saint's body (pp. 80-81). For a detailed account of the tomb and stories of the miracles, see Fonseca, pp. 286-301.
31. Fairly.
32. Of no architectural beauty.
33. Nearly nine years.
34. No. 35 of Pietro Della Valle's Chart. The Carmelites held a solemn mass in this church to celebrate the canonisation of St. Theresa when Pietro Della Valle was at Goa (Vol. I, pp. 172-174). They were expelled from Goa in 1707. The convent is now in ruins. See Fonseca, pp. 256-259.
35. Well designed.
36. The Italian fathers.
37. To defend that pass along with the soldiers.
38. Handsome gifts.
39. Imam.
40. The Captain's Galley, a small vessel and a fireship sailed out of the harbour for the Gulf of Persia, in aid of the King of Persia against the Imam of Muscat who with five ships had burnt the Portuguese factory at Congo.
41. Palace of the fortress or the Fortress of the viceroy (Fonseca, pp. 194-197).
42. As Fonseca observes, the pictures must have been very numerous for no less than 806 vessels had come to the east up to 1612 (Fonseca, p. 195).
43. And in another room paintings of all the ships and fleets.
44. Of the.
45. And there they coin money.
46. Portuguese gold and silver coin. "Garcia de Sa (1548-49) issued a gold coin called *Sao Thome* of the value of 1,000 reis (£1 2s. 4d.), followed by a silver piece bearing the same name." Subsequently a new gold coin, called *Sao Thome Novo* to distinguish it from the old coin was issued. "This was of three kinds, called double, single and half *Sao Thome* valued respectively at 8s. 4d., 4s. 2d. and 2s. 1d" (Fonseca, pp. 30-31). The coin was minted



for the last time in 1841. It derived its name from the figure of the apostle which it bore on one side (Dalgado, Vol. II, pp. 289-290).

47. Brass.
48. Tin.
49. See Thevenot, Part III, Chap. XXV, Note 9.
50. Bronze.
51. Port. *Bazarucco*. A small coin of diverse metals and fluctuating exchange value. About its etymology there is a difference of opinion. Some interpret it as *Bazar-rukka* or market money, others would derive it from Persian *buzurg* or big. The Bazarucco coined by Albuquerque in 1510 was worth two reis only. In 1554 it was worth 3 reis each but in 1712 five of this coin would bring only 4 reis. Fryer says 20 of these coins were equivalent to a fanam (Dalgado, Vol. I, p. 109; *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 121).
52. Article.
53. See Book I, Chap. VI.
54. Called the *Fiscal*.
55. On a pleasure excursion to.
56. A father of good taste.
57. Good fish.
58. But in several kinds of fruits; particularly large are the oysters.
59. Other contemporary travellers also testify to this practice.
60. Several very fine rarities.
61. I went on a pleasure trip.
62. Pyrard says—"They are obliged to have the *fête-Dieu* in February or March, because in the season we celebrate it there is too much rain" (Vol. II, Part I, p. 35).
63. Brought for the Viceroy.
64. Of St. Joseph's.
65. With the help of Father Visconti.
66. Situated on the hill of Boavista. For the miracles associated with the cross, see Fonseca, pp. 274-277.
67. Very cordially.
68. That I required.
69. Are in control.
70. The vessel having already descended to the Passo near the mouth of the channel.
71. After dinner.
72. Chorao island in the Goa settlement.
73. Around.
74. Holy Apostles.
75. On my return, going to take leave of Father Constantine, I lunched and dined in the Farm of the Augustinians.

CHAPTER VI

1. Tongking, French *Tonquin* or *Tonkin*, the northern division of the kingdom of Annam, which forms an integral part of French Indo-China.
2. Innocent XI, Pope from 1676-1689.
3. Likewise.
4. Society of Jesus, *i.e.*, the Jesuits.
5. *Parao*, *prow* etc. Yule gives it a double origin; the Malayal *paru* 'a boat', and the island word *prau* or *prahu* (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 733).
6. Ran.
7. Confirming the saying "They struck Scylla in wishing to avoid Charybdis." (*Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare carybdim*).
8. I also put.
9. Great.

10. Burst.
11. A misprint for "mine".
12. Lack of.
13. "Sudden squalls accompanied by thunder and lightning, which are common in the narrow sea between the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra." (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 867).
14. The difference in the seasons is due to the south-eastern regions receiving the north-east monsoon winds instead of the south-west. Other travellers also noticed this contrast, *cf.* Mandelslo, p. 83, and Peter Mundy, Vol. V, p. 65.
15. Madura, Turaiyar, Tanjore, Gingee and Madras.
16. Point de Galle, Ceylon. A rocky cape, to the south of Colombo.
17. No wind could turn us from our course.
18. The island of Ceylon contains every variety of quartz, such as rock-crystal, amethyst, cat's eye etc., the first of which is abundant, of various colours and of good quality (Hamilton, *East-India Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 384).
19. And other rivers.
20. The same wind and rains continuing.
21. An archipelago of coral islets in the Indian Ocean, between $7^{\circ} 6'$ N., and $0^{\circ} 42'$ S. The hereditary Sultan of these islands is tributary to the British Government of Ceylon.
22. Called Bilanzo by the sailors.
23. Nicobar islands, a group of twelve inhabited and seven uninhabited islands in the Bay of Bengal between Sumatra and the Andaman islands. They have an area of 635 square miles.
24. Andaman islands, numbering 204, in the Bay of Bengal. "The traditional charge of cannibalism has been very persistent, but it is denied by the islanders themselves. It is however, undoubted that they massacred shipwrecked crews even in quite modern times".
25. Are accustomed.
26. Sufficient witnesses.
27. Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth century explains the name 'Andamans' to mean "Island of Gold", and speaks of a lake with peculiar virtues as existing in it (cited in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. *Andaman Islands*).
28. The crew.
29. Being poured from a vase (carried by a native of the island) on to an anchor the part which was wet with it, turned into gold.
30. Out of gratitude.
31. And water.
32. Of the English.



ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 16 : *A rare Beast.* The rare beast described here is difficult to identify. Dr. Cockburn of the Zoological Society of London, thinks that "it is quite probably a Malabar Giant Squirrel". Dr. B. N. Chopra of the Zoological Survey of India writes : "Dr. M. L. Roonwal, our expert on birds and mammals, and I have carefully scrutinized the description of the animal mentioned by Thevenot, but its characters, as described, are so composite that it is extremely difficult to identify it. There is a superficial resemblance to *Hyrax* (order Hyracoidea) found in E. Africa and W. Asia (not India), but the teeth, tail etc. of Thevenot's animal are not like those of an *Hyrax*. The animal is more likely to be a rodent. The large size, as indicated by the tail-measurement, would appear to show that the animal might possibly be one of the giant squirrels of the *Rotufa* group, but these occur only in the Malaysian-Burma region. The presence of flat Primate-like soles is, however, a character not found in the rodents."

Page 177 : *The Pagod is 100 Spans in length, . . .* To be identified with Cave No. 10, the Great Darbar Hall. See plate No. LIV of Fergusson and Burgess.

Page 207 : *F. Hippolito Visconti.* He is referred to as *Father Hippolitus*, *Father Hippolitus Visconte*, and *Father Visconti* in Book III, Chap. V (pp. 269 and 272 of the present reprint). Father Giuseppe Monticone of the Propaganda Fide Archives, Vatican tells me that Hippolito Visconti originally belonged to the Theatin Convent of Milan. In 1673 he joined the new expedition of Theatin fathers for India formed by the Sacred Congregation. Following Father Gallo's death he was appointed Vice-prefect in 1698 and subsequently Prefect of the Missions (1705) with his headquarters at Goa. Father Visconti incurred the displeasure of the Portuguese authorities at Goa for having dared to follow the decrees of the Papal Legate Tournon in respect of Chinese rites. He was thrown into prison and remained there till 1714 when he was set free on condition that he should recall his missionaries from San Thomé (Mylapore). In 1720 he was succeeded by Father John Cajetan Comini as Prefect.

Page 348, Note 43 : *Salvador Gallo.* He is referred to by the author as *Father Salvador* in Book I, Chapter VI (p. 192 of the present reprint), as *Father Galli* in Book II, Chap. I (*Ibid.*, p. 207), and simply as *Father Prefect* in Book III, Chap. V (*Ibid.*, p. 269). Father Giuseppe Monticone, General Archivist of the Propaganda Fide, Vatican tells me that there are plenty of records relating to him in the Propaganda Fide Archives. It appears from these records that the expedition of Theatin fathers of which he was the leader was organised by the Sacred Congregation in 1673 and that Father Gallo continued to be the Director of the Theatin Missions till his death in 1697. The headquarters of the Missions were in the 'hospice' of Goa.



ITINERARY OF M. DE THEVENOT

November 6, 1665 .. Embarks from Basra on board the Hopewell.

January 10, 1666 .. Arrives at the bar of Surat.

January 12, 1666 .. Lands at Surat.

February 1, 1666 .. Leaves Surat for Ahmedabad, where he stays till February 16. Important towns en route Broach, Petlad etc. Visits Sarkhej, near Ahmedabad.

February 16, 1666 .. Leaves Ahmedabad for Cambay by the land-route, and after losing his way, ultimately reaches Surat. (Exact date not mentioned). Speaks of the high-handedness of the Grassias.

February 25 (?), 1666 .. Travels from Surat to Aurangabad in company with Monsieur Bazou via Navapur, Pimpalner, Satana, Deogaon and Suregaon. Meets Francis Fallu, Bishop of Heliopolis at Satana.

March 11, 1666 .. Reaches Aurangabad performing the whole journey in a fortnight. The same day takes a night-journey to see the Ellora caves.

March 12, 1666 .. Reaches Daulatabad at 2 A.M. where he stays till 5 A.M. Stays at Ellora for two hours and returns to Daulatabad the same day. Leaves Daulatabad and arrives at Aurangabad.

March 13, 1666 .. Departs from Aurangabad to Calvar. Describes tank at Ambad. Sees feats of jugglers at Patoda. Reaches Indur after some days' stay at Bisetpuri.

March 25, 1666 .. Reaches Indelvai.

March 26, 1666 .. Arrives at Calvar. Leaves Calvar for Bhagnagar (Hyderabad). Writes of the exactions of the officers on the way. Journey takes six days.

April, 1666 .. Arrives at Hyderabad where he stays till October. Leaves Hyderabad for Masulipatam. The journey usually took a week during fair weather.

October 23-24 (?), 1666 .. Returns from Masulipatam to Hyderabad and stays there for three weeks.

November 13, 1666 .. Leaves Hyderabad.

November 20, 1666 .. Arrives at Bidar and leaves for Pathri.

November 30, 1666 .. Parts at Pathri from his fellow traveller Monsieur Bazou.

December 9, 1666 .. Arrives at Burhanpur and leaves for Surat. Suffers from Cholera during the journey. Comes across lions. The journey takes a fortnight.

December 23, 1666 .. Reaches Surat and rests for some time.

February, 1667 .. Embarks for Bandar-Abbas or Gombroon in the Persian Gulf. From Bandar-Abbas proceeds to Shiraz. Accidentally hit by a shot from his own pistol. Is treated at Shiraz without much relief whereupon leaves for Isfahan where his wound is cured.

February-October, 1667 . Stays at Isfahan.

October 25, 1667 .. Leaves Isfahan for Sier (?). Suffers from fever and ague.

October 31, 1667 .. Leaves for Kashan and arrives there after four days.

November 8, 1667 .. Leaves Kum at 2 A.M.

November 16, 1667 .. Lodges at Farsank where he stops writing his memoirs.

November 28, 1667 .. Dies at Mianeh.



ITINERARY OF DR. GAMELLI CARERI

January 11, 1695 .. Arrives at Daman and stays in the monastery of the Augustinians.

January 12, 1695 .. Visits old Daman in company with F. Constantin.

January 15, 1695 .. Sails from Daman for Surat.

January 16, 1695 .. Anchors at Survali.

January 23, 1695 .. Returns to Daman after leaving Surat the previous day.

January 25, 1695 .. Leaves for Bassein.

January 26, 1695 .. Visits Tarapur. Passes through Mahim and the island of Vaccas or Arnalla.

January 27, 1695 .. Reaches Bassein.

February 13, 1695 .. Visits Ghodbandar in Salsette. Stops at Deins(?), six miles from Bassein. Describes the village of Mandapeshwar. Returns to Deins from Mandapeshwar.

February 14, 1695 .. Leaves Deins for Kanheri and returns the same evening.

February 15, 1695 .. Goes to Bassein again by way of Ghodbandar.

February 21, 1695 .. Departs from Bassein for Goa. Passes through Bombay.

February 22, 1695 .. Anchors at Chaul.

February 24, 1695 .. Reaches Dabhol.

February 25, 1695 .. Passes through Visapor, Lambuna(?) and Malvan.

February 26, 1695 .. Reaches Goa. Stays there till March 3.

March 4-5, 1695 .. Leaves Goa for Galgali ; after passing through Mardol reaches Ponda.

March 8, 1695 .. Sets out for Chiampan(?).

March 11, 1695 .. Reaches Sambrani after passing through Bom-buali and Chiamkan.

March 12, 1695 .. Arrives at Haliyal.

March 13-15, 1695 .. Passes through Kancre, Etchi, Tikli, Hunur and Mandapur.

March 16, 1695 .. Passes through Chikodi and Edur and arrives at Mudhol.

March 17, 1695 .. Arrives at Galgali.

March 19, 1695 .. Pays a visit to Aurangzeb's quarters.

March 20, 1695 .. Goes to see the tent of Shah Alam.



March 21, 1695 .. Is admitted to a private audience with Aurangzeb.

March 22, 1695 .. Has an opportunity to see Sikandar Adil Shah.

March 27, 1695 .. Leaves Galgali for Goa.

March 30, 1695 .. Reaches Belgaum after passing through Edur, Rodelki, Mandapur and Hunur.

April 3, 1695 .. Crosses the Mughal boundary into Portuguese territory.

April 5, 1695 .. Reaches Goa where he stays till May 15.

May 16, 1695 .. Sails from Goa for China.

May 23-24, 1695 .. The ship passes through Cochin and Cape Comorin latitudes.

June 4, 1695 .. Reaches Achin in Sumatra.

June 27, 1695 .. Arrives at Malacca.



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INDEX



INDEX

Abbas II, Shah of Persia, Kandahar captured by, 78-79, 310.

Abbasi (Abassi), Persian coin, xviii, xxii, 2, 26, 253, 279, 300, 381.

Abdul Karim, *Itmad Khan*, invites Akbar to occupy Gujarat, 8, 282.

Abdullah Qutb Shah (Abdulla Cotup Cha), King of Golkonda, 140, 332, 333.

—Mother of, *see* Hayat Baksh Begam.

Abu Said Mirza, *Sultan*, grandson of Miran Shah, 235, 374.

Abul Hassan, *surnamed* Tana Shah, King of Golkonda, account of, 141, 265, 332; Aurangzeb's war with, 265, 388.

Abyssinians, in India, 254.

Achin (Achem), in Sumatra, trade with India, 242, 349, 376.

Acuna, Capt. Nuno d', 183.

Adalat (*Adalet*), Court of Justice, 240, 376.

Aden, in Arabia, xlivi, 30, 45, 292, 298.

Adil Khan, Adil Shah (*Hidalcan*), *see* Ismail Adil Shah.

Adil Shah Sur, descendant of Sher Shah, Akbar captures Agra from, 57, 302.

Afghans (Oganis), 245, 377.

Afuz, Hafuz, *see* Niculao Affonso.

Agates, trade at Broach, 8; from Cambay, 18, 164, 282, 286; mining near Limodra, 18, 286; sold at Surat, 25.

Agra, historic town in U. P., xxix, xxxii, xxxv, xlvi, Iv, lvii, lix, lx, 68, 219, 224, 226, 298, 305, 306, 312, 315; practice of *Sati* at, xlxi; situation, 46; fort and palace, 47, 299, 369; Jesuits at, 47; animal and elephant-fight at, 47, 53; baths, 48; Tajmahal, 48; royal tombs, 48-49; Caravanserai at, 49; climate, 49; population; houses; Dutch factory at, 49-50, 399; Christians and Parsis at, 50, 299; Beber robbed at, 50; dress and ornaments, 50-53; fauna, 53-55; hunting and fishing, 54-55; painting, 55; gold work at, 55-56; built by Akbar, 56, 301; captured by Akbar from Adil Shah Sur, 57, 302; revenue, 57; cotton textiles from, 103; capital of the Mughal kings, 236, 237.

Agriculture, at Surat, 36-37; at Bassein and Cassabo, 169; at Salsette, 179.

Aguada, fort in the province of Bardez, 190, 191, 350.

Ahmad, *Malik*, *see* Ahmad Nizam Shah.

Ahmad Khattu Ganj Baksh, *Shaikh*, venerated by Muslims and Hindus, 15; tomb at Sarkhej, 15, 285.

Ahmad Nizam Shah (*Nizam-cha*), *also known as* Malik Ahmad, liv, 127, 327.

Ahmad Shah (Ahmed, Amed), King of Gujarat, founds Ahmedabad, 11, 284, 285; tomb of, 11, 15, 284.

Ahmad Shah Wali, Bidar fort built by, 113, 322.

Ahmadabad (Amadabath, Amedabad, Amedabat), city in Bombay Presy., xix, xxxiii, xlvi, 8, 9, 10; English factory at, lviii, 13; textiles, 9, 13, 17, 164, 286, 340; tombs at; Jami Masjid at, 11, 13, 14, 15, 284; founded by Ahmad Shah, 11; situation and descriptive account, 11; Hauz-i-Qutb at, 11, 284; inroads by Raja of Bhadwar into, 12, 284; caravanserai at, 12; houses and temples, 12, 13-14, 164, 225, 340; Dutch at 12, 17; Maidan Shah at, 12; Tin Darwaza at, 12, 284; practice of archery at, 12; castle and king's palace at, 12, 13; fakirs at, 13; Shahi Bagh, 14, 15, 285; veterinary hospital, 16, 286; Dada Harir's well, 16, 286; hunting at, 16-17; fauna of, 16-17; trade and manufactures, 17, 286; city, 164, 340; Dara's flight to, 227-28.

—Governor of, *see* Badi-us-Zaman *Shah Nawaz Khan*.

Ahmadabad English Factory, lviii, 13.

Ahmadpur, *see* Rajura.

Ajmer (Adgemere, Azmer, Hasmer), xvii, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxviii, xl, xli, lvii, 68-74, 305, 370; situation and history, 68-70, 305; pilgrimage of Akbar to, 69, 305; tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti at, 69, 306; fauna, 72, 73; salt-petre from, 73-74, 308; Dara defeated by Aurangzeb at 227-28.

Akbar (Ecbar, Schach Achbar), Mughal Emperor, liv, 68, 98, 281; legend re. necromancy, xxviii; imprisons Muzaffar Shah, liv; death, 6; occupies Gujarat, 8, 12, 282; tomb at Sikandra, 48, 56, 298, 299, 302; builds Agra, 56, 301; captures Agra from Adil Shah Sur, 57, 302; pilgrimage to Ajmer, 69; conquest of Kashmir, 83-84, 311; reign of, 235, 374.

—Mother of, *see* Hamida Bano Begam.

Akbar Sultan, fourth son of Aurangzeb, rebels against his father, 238-39, 265, 375, 388.

Akbarabad (Ecbarabad), *see* Agra.

Albuquerque (Albaquerque), Affonso de, Portuguese Viceroy of India, 45; buried in Goa, 129; takes Goa from Adil Shah, 186, 349; construction of Royal Hospital at Goa, 194, 353.

Alcal (? Haliyal), town in Kanara dist., fort and Hanuman temple at, 215, 365.

Alexander, *surnamed* the Great, Indian campaigns, xxiii, xxviii, 58; legends re. his excavation of Kanheri rock temples, xxiii, 171, 177; legends re. excavation

Alexander—*Contd.*
of passage by him through rocks at Bassein, 180.

Alfondica, custom house, xlvi.

Ali Adil Shah, of Bijapur, reign of, 128, 328.

Ali Naqi, *Mir Sayyad* (Sajed), Diwan of Gujarat, 229, 371.

Allahabad (Halabas), xxxiii, xxxiv, lxi, 92-94; confluence of the Ganga and Jumna at, 46, 298; boundaries, 92; fort, 93; *Magh mela*, 93, 316; fakirs, 93-94; revenues, 94.

Allahabad fort, Asoka pillar in, xxiii, 92, 315; palaces, Patalpuri temple and Akshaya Vat at, 92, 315.

Almadia (Almadie, Almandies), a ferry boat used in Cambay coastal trade, 18-19, 196, 287, 354.

Almeida, Dom Francisco de, first Portuguese Viceroy of India (1508-10), takes Dabhol from Adil Shah, 185, 349.

Alvor, Don Francis de Tavora, Viceroy of Goa, attack on Ponda, 211, 363.

Amanal (Amanguel), near Hyderabad, 146, 334.

Amari (*Ambri*), a covered-in-howdah or litter, 227, 370.

Ambad, Ambar, town in Daulatabad, 108-09, 112, 321; tank at, 108; temple at, 109.

Ambar, *Malik*, Mughals defeated by, 127, 328.

Ambarpet Kalan (Elmas-Kepentch), in Hyderabad State, 146, 333.

Amber, sold at Surat, 25.

Ambrose (Ambroise, Ambrozio), Father, Superior of the Capuchins at Surat, 29, 30, 31, 41, 80, 291, 296, 299; service to Indians, 43-44; reputation and authority, 43, 297.

Amcaleira, Amcale (*Amlaki*) tree, 204, 360.

Ammonium Chloride, sold at Surat, 25, 289.

Anna (Ourna), river, 150, 335.

Ananamzeira, ananas or pine apple, 161, 179, 204-05, 345, 360.

Anantagiri (Anendeguir), near Hyderabad, 147.

Andaman (Andemaon), island in Bay of Bengal, short account, 275, 276; cannibals in, 275, 391.

Andora, a kind of conveyance, 160, 168, 170, 172, 187, 188, 194, 207, 339.

Angola, on the west coast of Africa, 189, 195, 197, 350.

Anhilwara, in Gujarat, fortifications, 9, 282.

Animal husbandry, by the Mughals, 62-63.

Animante (Animating), *see* Hanuman.

Anjidiva (Andegiva), Island of, taken by the Portuguese, 195, 197, 354.

Ankai—Tankai (Enquitenqui), in Nasik dist., 102, 319.

Akleshwar (Oclisser, Oklesar), in Broach Dist., Bombay, Ix, 9, 21, 282.

Annunciacion, Dom Fr. Agostinho de, Archbishop of Goa, 208, 362.

Anoneira, anonas, 161, 202, 359.

Antelope (Antilope), at Agra, 54, 300; *see also* Meru.

Anthropo-phagi, *see* Cannibalism.

Apes (also mistaken for baboons), stories relating to, xiii, xxviii, 213-14, 364; hospital near Mathura for, 57, 302; at Aurangabad, 104.

Apples, Indian, 206.

Arabia, xlvi, 62, 183, 196; trade with India, 241.

Arabian Sea (Indian Sea), xxii, 74, 308, 353.

Arabs, the, at Surat, 21, 38; defeated by the Portuguese, 180-82, 185.

Arakan (Aracam), in Burma, Shuja's flight to, 229, 230, 371.

Architecture, of Taj Mahal, 48, 299; of Delhi, 58-60; of Ellora, 104-07; of Sitanagar temple, 111-12; of Kanheri, 171-72.

Arco dos Viceréis, at Velha Goa, Vasco da Gama's statue at, constructed under Dom Francisco de Gama's orders, 194, 353.

Arcolna, village in the settlement of Goa, 208, 362.

Arequeira, Areca, betelnut-palm, 201, 205, 358.

Aretino, Pietro (Aretin), Italian author, 55, 301.

Arjumand Banu Begam, wife of Shah Jahan, *popularly* Mumtaz Mahal, tomb at Agra, 48, 299.

Armenians, the, at Surat, 21, in India, 254.

Arms and Ammunition, of the Mughals, 61-62, 242-43, 377; manufacture at Indalwai, 112-13; cannon at Bidar, 113.

Army, Mughal, 159, 182, 184; horses and elephants for, 219, 366; estimated strength, 242, 376; finances, 243.

Arnalla, near Bassein, 167, 341.

Argaliq (*Arkaluk*), a coat with sleeves, 51, 300.

Arrian, *see* Flavius, Arrianus.

Asaf Khan (Asif-Khan), father-in-law of Shah Jahan, proclaims Bulaqi as emperor, 232, 233, 281, 373; plans to help Shah Jahan to throne, 233, 373.

Asheri (Asserim), in Thana dist., Bombay, Portuguese castle at, 166-67, 341.

Ashti (Achty), town near Aurangabad, 108, 112, 321.

Asid Bosita Abyssino, *see* Miftah, *Sayf-ul-Mulk*.

Asoka pillar, at Allahabad fort, xxiii, 92, 315; at Delhi, 58, 302.

As-Salih, Malik, Sultan of Egypt, imparts training in arms to Mameluke slaves, 45, 297.

Atash-Parast (*Atech perest*), *see* Parsis, the.

Ateira, Ata tree, 202, 359.

Athaise, Dom Luiz de, fortress at Basrur built by, 196, 355.

Attock (Attack, Atek, Atoc), town in the Punjab, xxxii, xxix, 82.

Augustinians, the, *also known as* Black Friars, monastery at Dacca, 95, monastery at Daman; mode of life, 157, 158, 337; at Bassein, 168, 342; monastery at Salsette, 179; at Dongorim, 199; at Goa, 273, 351.

Aurangabad (Aurangeabad, Aurengabad), capital of Balaghat, xix, xxxiii, 39, 101-2, 107, 151, 321, 368; revenues, 101; flora, 102; buildings, 103-04, 319; Dilras Banni Begam's tomb and Jami Masjid at, 103, 319; fauna, 104.

Aurangzeb (Aurengzeb), Mughal Emperor, xxxiii, liv, 57, 67, 99, 107, 281, 317, 320, 330, 333, 371, 375; at Galgala, xxiv, 220-22; Careri's interview with, xxiv, 220; religious intolerance 1; imprisons Shah Jahan, 6, 49, 226; treachery to Murad, 6, 223, 225-27, 229, 370; army of, 6-7; vandalism at Ahmadabad, 14; defeats and puts Dara to death, 9, 223, 225, 227, 228, 229, 370; expedition against Shivaji, 39; alleged present of treasure by Jahanara Begam to, 49, 231-32, 299; at Aurangabad, 103, 319; conquests in Bijapur and Golkonda, 127, 141, 142, 235, 265, 328, 332; besieges Daman, 159, 338; Deccan assigned to, 223, 322; deputes Muazzam to win over Mir Jumla, 224; appoints Shaista Khan as Governor of Agra, 226; imprisons Jahanara Begam, 226; sends Mir Jumla against Shujah, 227, 229; imprisons Muhammad Sultan, 228, 370; captures and imprisons Sulaiman Shikoh, 229; Dara's family captured by, 229; sends Dara's daughter to Jahanara Begam, 229; coronation, 231, 372; letter from King of Persia to, 231, 372; penance and piety, 231, 235-40, 372, 374; conquests and wars, 235, 238-39; sons of, 235-40; imprisons Shah Alam I, 237-38, 375; suspects Azam Shah's loyalty, 237-38, 375; wars with the Marathas, 238-39, 375; deposes Sikandar Adil Shah, 264-65; dismantles and rebuilds fortifications of Broach, 282-83.

Ayaz Sultani, *Malik* (Jassi), Governor of Diu, joins Egyptian expedition against the Portuguese in India, 45, 297; vain attempts to prevent Portuguese fortification of Chaul, 183-84.

Azam Shah (Azam-Scia), son of Aurangzeb, tomb at Ahmadabad, 11, 284, 320; alleged conspiracy against his father, 238.

Babar (Mirza Baber, Sultan Babir), Mughal Emperor, 58, 281, 301, 328; conquers Ghazni and N. India, 5, 280; succeeded by Humayun, 5; dethroned by Shaibani Khan, 235; early career of, 274.

Bab-el-Mandeb (Bab-el-Mandel), Strait between Arabia and Africa, 242, 376.

Babia, a variety of mangoes, 202, 358.

Baboons, *see* Apes.

Babrias, tribe in Kathiwar, 257, 383.

Babul (*Caboul, Baboul*), tree, 102, 319; bark used in preparing wine, 23, 289.

Baccareos, barking deer, at Daman, 161, 339.

Badagora (Bergare), village in Malabar, 125, 326.

Badam (*Baden*), bitter almonds, used as currency at Surat, 26, 290.

Badi Saheba, Dowager queen of Bijapur, robbed by Hubert Hugo on way to Mecca, 29, 30, 292; peace with Shivaji, 39, 295.

Badi-uz-Zaman, also called Mirza Dakhini, deserts Dara, 228, 370.

Bafta, a kind of calico, manufacture at Broach, 9, 282, 283.

Baglan (Baganala, Baglana, Benganala), hilly tract in Nasik dist., Bombay, xxxiii, 101, 113, 319, 328; revenues, 116, 323; situation, 116; marriages in, 117-18.

Bahadur Khan, *popularly known as* Mir-baba, foster brother of Aurangzeb, takes custody of Dara, 228, 371.

Bahadur Shah (Badar), King of Gujarat, surrenders Bassein etc. to the Portuguese, 167, 296.

Bahrein (Baharam), group of islands in Persian Gulf, Portuguese occupation of, 196, 354-55.

Bairagi (*Baraguy*), Hindu religious mendicant, 89, 258, 315, 384.

Bairam Khan (Beuran Cham), *Khan-i-Khanan*, Humayun's General, 235, 374.

Bakhshi (*Bachei, Baysci*), Paymaster of the Mughal army, 212, 240, 363-64, 375.

Balaghat (Balagate, Balaquate), 23, 88, 101-04, 113, 322, 328; revenues, 101; fauna and flora, 102; missionaries, 103; *see also* Aurangabad.

Balloon, *Balloon (Ballon)*, a kind of boat, 185, 198, 273, 274, 348.

Bandar Abbas (Bander Abbasi), Persian port, xviii, xix, 242.

Bandar-Sindri, in Kishangarh State, 68, 305.

Bandra (Bandora), village and fort near Bombay, 179.

Bangash (Bankich), Afghan tribe, settled in Farrukhabad, 87, 313.

Banghel (*Banguel*), near Mangalore, 125, 327.

Banias (*Banians, Banienes, Baniyans, Bannyans, Benjans*), Hindu traders, xli, xlvi, xliii, xlvi, xlvi, xvii, lii; customs duty charged at Surat from 4; at Cambay, 18, 19; at Goa, 187; customs, 256.

Banjaras, *Vanjaras* (Bengiara, Binjaree, Brinjarry, Bunjaree), a nomadic tribe, 89, 314.

Bara Banghal, ridge in Kangra, 88, 313.

Barambad, village in Bayana *tahsil*, Bharatpur State, 68, 305.

Barbosa, Duarte, xxxvi, 286, 293, 294, 325, 327, 329.

Bardez (Bardes), Island, 190, 191, 199; taken by the Portuguese, 195, 350-51.

Bardoli (Barnoly), town near Surat, 102, 319.

Bareja (Baredgia), in Daskroi subdivision of Ahmadabad dist., Bombay, 17, 286.

Barmer, historic fortress in Marwar State, Rajputana, 56, 301.

Baroda (Barodora, Brodera, Brodرا, Broudرا), Calico trade and indigo manufacture at, 44, 297.

Barqandaz Khan, one of the titles of the Mughal nobility, 222, 368.

Basra (Balsra, Balsora, Bassora), xviii, 1, 279, 355; tribute exacted by the king of Portugal, 196.

Basrur (Barcelore, Barkalar), in S. Kanara dist., Madras, sacked by Shivaji, 125, 327; taken by the Portuguese, 196, 355.

Bassein (Bassaim, Bazaim), in Thana dist., Bombay, former Portuguese settlement, xix, 38, 116, 171, 197, 199; Shivaji's camp near, 40; churches, 92, 169, 170, 315, 342, 343; captured by Nuno da Cunha, 167, 195, 296, 341; city and harbour, 166, 167; fortifications, 167, 341; government of, 167-68, 341; climate and dress of the people, 168; houses, 168; Dominicans at, 169; administration of justice, 170; channel of, 180; Portuguese ships at, 183.

—Archbishop of, *see* Menzes, Dom Fr. Aleixo de.

Bats, 98-99.

Batticaloa (Batticall), in Ceylon, bequeathed to the Portuguese by the King of Kotta, 197, 355.

Baya, weaver bird, 253, 380.

Bayana (Byana), ancient town in Bharatpur State, 56, 57, 301, 302.

Bayazid I (Bayazeth), Sultan, Emperor of the Turks, defeated by Timur, 234, 373.

Bazen (Bazon, Bazu), Signor David, 120, 150, 319.

Beas, river, 84, 312.

Beber, M. —, of French E. I. Coy., granted farman by the Mughal Emperor, 31, 292; robbed at Agra, 50; at Burhanpur, 99, 100.

Becar (? Bihar), province of, 88, 313, 314; boundaries, 88; revenue, 88; castes and tribes, 88-92.

Begam Sahiba (Begam Saheb), *see* Jahanara Begam.

Begari (Begarine), labourer, 207, 362.

Behar, Behat, Bhat, *see* Jhelum.

Belgaum (Beligon), in Bombay Presy., town and fort, 267, 388.

Benares (Banarous, Benara, Benarous, Benarous), gambling at, 67, 305; temples of, 90, 262, 317, 386.

Bengal (Bengala), xxvii, xxix, xxxiii, xl, 92, 94-97, 144, 148, 197; textiles from, 52, 96, 275; inhabitants, 94-95; trades Bengal—*Contd.*

and manufactures, 96; agricultural products, 96; flora and fauna, 96; rivers, 96, castles and temples, 96; revenues, 97; regarded as a penal province in Aurangzeb's time, 97, 317; assigned to Shuja, 223, 368.

Beni-Madhava (Bain-Madu), temple at Benares, 262, 386.

Berar (Varad, Varal), xxix, xxxiii, xxxiv, 87, 99, 312, 313, 318, 322, 328; revenues of, 87; trade, 101.

Berengena, Bergamot tree, 203, 206, 359.

Bernier, Francois, physician and traveller, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, liv, lvii, 280, 281, 296, 297, 299, 305, 306, 316, 317, 318, 320, 324, 328, 330, 332, 333, 377.

Beteleira, betel plant, xlivi-v, 144, 205, 333, 360.

Bets, *see* Vedas.

Bezat, *see* Jhelum.

Bezoar, an antipoison, 138, 331.

Bhadrapur (Madrapur), Muslim acrobats at, 168, 342.

Bhadwar (Badur), Raja of, inroads into Ahmadabad by, 12, 284.

Bhagirathi, *see* Ganges.

Bhagmati, mistress of Qutb Shah Muhammad Quli, Bhagnagar named after, 96, 148, 149, 316.

Bhagnagar (Begnagar), *see* Hyderabad.

Bhakkar (Tatabakar), fortress in Tatta, Sind, 228, 371.

Bhandaris (Bandarines), toddy-drawers and distillers, 256, 383.

Bhang (Banghe), hemp, used as intoxicant, xlivi, 212, 363.

Bhansalis (Bangasalis), a caste in India, 257, 383.

Bhatelas (Batalas), a subdivision of the Brahman caste, 256, 383.

Bhatias (Gantias), a trading community, 257, 383.

Bhatta (Boto), a learned Brahman, 260, 385.

Bhimbar (Bambar), pass in Pir Panjal range, 83, 311.

Bhonslas, the, descent claimed from a branch of the rulers of Mewar, 184, 348.

Bhutan (Butan), musk from, 234.

Bibo, a kind of panther, 161, 339.

Bicholim (Bichioli), town north of Goa, 209, 210, 362.

Bidar (Beder), in Hyderabad, 150, 328, 350; town, 113-14; fort built by Ahmad Shah Wali, 113, 114, 327.

—Governor of, *see* Shaista Khan.

Bidar Bakht, eldest son of Azam Shah, Panhala attacked by, 245, 378.

Bihat, Bihatah, *see* Jhelum river.

Bijapur (Visapor, Visiapolis, Viziapolis), 29, 38, 39, 109, 113, 116, 125, 126, 127, 151, 295; Aurangzeb's conquests in, 127, 328; Europeans in, 128; wealth, 128, 129, 130, 141, 145; short history, 128, 328;

Bijapur—*Contd.*
 fort, 185; conquered by Aurangzeb, 235, 321, 322.
 —King of, 184; alleged treacherous negotiations with Azam Shah, 238, 375; imprisons Shahji; Shivaji's wars with, 264-65; Pam Nayaka's rebellion against, 265; *see also* Yusuf Adil Shah.
 —Queen of, peace with Shivaji, 265; *see also* Badi Saheba.
 Bikaner (Becaner, Bikaneer, Bikanir), in Rajputana, xxxiv, 313, 314.
 Biknur (Baquenour), in Hyderabad, 131, 329.
 Bilimbeira, the Bilimbi tree, 204, 360.
 Bilpad (Bilpar), village in Gujarat, Grasias of, 20, 287.
 Bimlipatam, Dutch Factory at, 148, 335.
 Birds, hospitals for, xlvi-xlv, 16, 286.
 Birguano, Prince of, *see* Sanseverino, Don Carlos.
 Black Friars, *see* Augustinians, the.
 Black Pepper, from Malabar, 122, 325.
 Boars, at Daman, 161.
 Bojata (? Boyada), caravan of oxen, 214-15, 364.
 Bomanballi (Bombnali), village in N. Kanara Dist., Bombay, 215, 364.
 Bombaraki, disease at Daman, 162, 340.
 Bombay (Bombaim, Bombayam), lii, 116, 125, 179, 180, 183, 275; short history, 179, 323; city and fort, 179, 346; fishing tribes, 257, 383.
 Bon-Jesu, church of, St. Xavier's body at, 269, 389.
 Borgia, Francis, invites Careri to Galgala, 217.
 Borneo, island of, export of sago to Goa, 193; diamonds of, 251, 379.
 Boullaye le Gouz, Francois de la, French envoy to India, 10, 31, 283, 292.
 Boys (Boes), palanquin bearers, porters, 166, 194, 341.
 Braganza, Dom Constantino de (Constantin), takes Daman from Sayf-ul-Mulk Miftah, 159, 338.
 Brahmins (Brachman, Bramins), Hindu caste, xlvi, li, lii; females of, 186; at Goa, 187, 255, 382; subdivisions, 255, 381, 382; religious customs and beliefs, 258-60.
 Brazil, in S. America, conquest by the Portuguese, 197, 349, 356; baboons in, 214, 364.
 Brindeirea, the Brindon tree, 203, 359.
 Britto, Antonio Machado de, murder of, 181-82; relates story re. apes, 214, 346.
 Broach (Baroche, Barosce), city in Bombay Presy., lii, Ix, 8, 21, 166; agate trade, 9; peacocks at, 9; situation, 9; customs duties, 9, 283; fortress, 9, 282-83; bazaars, 9, 282, 283; Dutch factory at, 9, 283, 340; Calico manufacture, 9, 164, 282, 283, 340; trade, 164.
 Brocade, trade at Surat, 164.
 Brothers of St. John, *see* Hospitallers, the.
 Bubo, a kind of disease, at Bassein, 169.
 Bukhari Saiyads, in Gujarat, 14, 285.
 —Leader of, *see* Shah Alam.
 Bukkur, Bakhar (Bucor), fortified island in the Indus, Sukkur dist., Sind, 77, 309.
 Buland Akhtar, Sultan (Sultan Banche), son of Shuja, 229, 230, 371.
 Bulaqi (Bullooquoy, Polagi), *see* Dawar Baksh.
 Bundi (Bando), town and state in Rajputana, 68, 305.
 Burhan Nizam Shah, at war with Adil Shah, 183; permits Gen. Sequeira to build El Morro fort, 183, 347.
 Burhanpur (Brampour), in C.P., xix, 37, 150-52, 295, 328, 335, 369; Beber and De La Boullaye at, 99, 318; buildings and roads, 100, 318; Aurangzeb at, 224; defeat of Dara's forces at, 225.
 Burhanuddin, Saiyed, tomb at Khulbad, 105, 320.
 Buyo, a compound of bonga fruit, betel leaves and lime for chewing, 205, 361.
 Cabaya (Caba), a kind of dress, 51, 162, 299, 340.
 Cabo Verde, group of islands near Africa, 194.
 Cacora (Kakore), village in Chandravaddi dist., 212, 213.
 Cadeby, a kind of dress, 52, 300.
 Caesar, Duke of Vendome, French Admiral, 29, 292.
 Cajuyera, the Caju (Cashewnut) tree, 102, 202, 319, 359.
 Calabria, *see* Radicena.
 Calais (Calis), in France, 159, 338.
 Calamac, *see* Jwalamukhi.
 Calicoes, manufacture in Broach, 164, 282; trade in Bombay, 179-80; trade in Bengal, 275.
 Calicut (Calecut), in Malabar Dist., Madras, Zamorin (Samorin) of, 121, 122, 324, 348; Vasco da Gama at, 195; conquered by the Portuguese, 195.
 Calvar, in Golconda, 130.
 Cambay (Cambaya), capital of the state of that name and former port in Bombay Presidency, xix, xxxi, xxxiii, xlvi, lx, 115, 121, 163, 166, 167, 286; gulf, xxxi, xxxii, 18, 116, 163; practice of *Sati* at, xlvi; situation, 17; tombs, 18; veterinary hospital, 18; castle, 18; trade and manufactures, 18, 164, 282, 286, 340; ships and vessels, 18-19, 287; city and its inhabitants, 164, 340; loss of trade due to silting up of the harbour, 164; taken by the Portuguese, 195.
 Cambolin, taken by the Portuguese, 196, 355.
 Canara, Kingdom of, 185, 196.
 Canaries, 166, 188, 198, 199.
 Candles, a kind of dress, 162, 340.
 Candavil (? Khanewal), in Multan Dist., Punjab, 77, 309.

Cannanore (Cananor), in Malabar dist., Madras, city, 121, 124, 125; harbour, 124, 326; taken by the Portuguese, 196, 324, 355.

Cannibalism, belief about, in Gujarat, 9, 283; in Andaman Islands, 275, 391.

Cape of Good Hope, 194, 195, 198, 353.

Cape Palmyras (Palmyras Point), 147, 334.

Capes and headlands, Comorin, 4, 280; Cape Palmyras, 147, 334; Mount Delly, 185, 348; Cape of Good Hope, 194, 195, 198, 353.

Capital punishment, at Ranthambhor, 98.

Capuchins (Capucins), the, at Surat, 29, 41, 164, 166, 291, 296, 340; treated kindly by the Marathas during sack of Surat, 41, 296; at Daman, 158; at Salsette, 179; *see also* Recollects, the.

Caramboleira, Carambola tree, 202, 339, 359.

Carandeira, Caranda tree, 203, 359.

Carat, weight, 25, 290.

Caravanserai (Quervanseray), Ivi, Ivii, 284; at Ahmedabad, 12; at Agra, 49.

Carazzo, a kind of disease, *probably* plague, at Bassein, 169, 342.

Careck, *see* Galati river.

Careri, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli, life and works, xx-xxvii; estimate of his work, xxvii-xxviii; historical and topographical errors in his work, xxxi-xxxvi, liii-liv; errors in describing Indian fauna and flora, xxxvi-xl, 199-206, 250-53; on Indian people, their habits, food, dress, trades and professions, religious beliefs and tolerance, xl-xlvii, l-li, 245-50, 254-61; on early marriage in India, xlviii; on Indian women, xlviii-xlix, 247-49; on *Sati*, xlix-1; on caste system, li-iii, 254-58; on custom officers at Surat, Iv-lvi; on Indian inns, Ivi-lvii; on Indian transport, lvii-lix; on Indian roads, lix-lxiii; on Indian civility, lxiii; at Daman, 157-62; at Surat, 163-66; on Ahmadabad, Cambay and Broach, 163-64; visits Bassein, 166-70; visits Kanheri, 171-83; at Chaul, 183-84; on Shivaji, 184; on pirates in Arabian Sea, 185; at Dabhol, 185; at Goa, 186-94; on the history of the Portuguese in India, 194-97; on the government of Portuguese India, 198-99; journey to Galgala, 207-17; at Mughal camp at Galgala, 217-22, 264-67; on the history of Aurangzeb, 222-40; on Mughal genealogy, 234-40; on Mughal government, 240-41; on Mughal revenues and wealth, 241-42; on Mughal arms and weapons, 242-45; on Mughal customs and manners, festivities, punishment, marriages, polyandry in Malabar, funeral rites, etc., 245-50; on Indian climate, mines and minerals and coins, 250-53; on Hindu superstitions, 250-61; on Hindu temples, 262-64; return to Goa, 267-73; voyage to Malacca, 273-76.

Carolina, Carlin, a silver coin of Naples, 211, 363.

Carmelites (Italian), church at Goa, 269.

Carnatic, the (Cornates), extent and government, 126, 127, 128.

Casabé (Cassabi), town near Bassein, Bombay, gardens and pleasure houses at, 168, 169, 342; Dominican church near, 169; sugar industry, 169.

Cashew-nuts (Quieson), of Balaghat, 102, 319.

Cashi (Cassi), near Ghodbandar, church of St. Jerome at, 172, 344.

Cassava (Cassaras), a kind of edible root, 161, 339.

Cassia, tree, 146, 334.

Castes and tribes, Hindu, xlii, li-lvi, 88-92, 254-58, 314, 381; of Becar, 88-90; in Goa, 187, 188; of Multan, 77-78; in Telingana, 114-115.

Catechumen, at Goa, 193.

Cats, wild, at Daman, 161.

Causin, Father, story re. apes related by, 213.

Ceylon (Ceilon, Seylon), island of, 63, 204; 274, 275, 326; elephants of, 63, 252, 275, 380; conquered by the Portuguese, 195, 197; cinnamon of, 197, 275; trade with India, 242; rock-crystal from, 275, 391.

Chaaalem, *see* Shah Alam.

Cha-Gehan, *see* Shahjahan.

Chaghtai (Zagatay), mountains, 4, 5, 234, 280.

Cha-Humayon, *see* Humayun.

Cham, *see* Muhammad Qasim, *Mutamad Khan*.

Chambal (Cham-Elnady), river, 57, 302.

Chambhars, caste in India, 257, 384.

Champson, Monsieur, 103.

Chandwar, *see* Firozabad.

Changez Khan, of Gujarat, 8, 282.

Char Minar, at Hyderabad, built by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, 131, 132, 133, 330.

Charados, Chardis, *see* Sudra.

Charanas (Tcherons), a caste in India, Ix, 19, 257, 383; used as escorts by travellers, Ix, 19, 287.

Chauki (Chiaruci), customs or toll station, 215, 364.

Chaul (Chaoul, Cheul), historic town in Kolaba dist., Bombay, 116, 184, 185, 197, 296-97, 323; port, 116, 323; Shivaji's camp at, 40; city and fortress, 183, 347; fortified by the Portuguese, 183-84, 347; taken by the Portuguese, 195.

Chawdis (Charados), low caste Hindus at Goa, 187.

Cheboular, in Afghanistan, 80, 310.

Chehil Minar (Celmanar), at Persepolis, 171, 344.

Chenab (Canab, Ychenas), river, xxii, 82, 84, 309, 311, 312.

Cheruman, *see* Pulayan.

Chiamkan, village on the way to Galgala, 215, 364.

Chiampin, *champa* tree, 206, 361.

Chiampon, village and fort on way to Galgala, 212, 364.

Chicacole (Cicacola), in Ganjam dist., Madras, 148, 335.

Chikalthan (Tchequelcane), near Hyderabad, 112, 321.

Chilau (Cilau), North Western Province of Ceylon, 197, 355.

Child-marriage, among Hindus, 72, 308.

Chilkur, near Hyderabad, 150, 335.

China, xxv, 4, 103, 193, 195, 197, 198, 199, 206, 207, 273, 275, 354; Careri's travels in, xxiv; Jesuits in, xxiv, 273; great wall, xxiv.

—Emperor of, Careri's interview with, xxv; permits the Portuguese to colonise Macao, 195.

Chingiz Khan (Chingez Khan, Ginguis Can, Sciauguis Khan), Mongol leader, 5, 234, 280, 373, 374; Jalaluddin Mangbarni defeated by, 74, 308.

Chintaman, temple of, built by Shantidas at Ahmadabad, 13, 285; desecrated by Aurangzeb and restored to the Jains by Shah Jahan, 13-14, 285.

Chintz (Schites), from Ahmadabad, 17, 286; trade at Masulipatam, 17, 146, 286, 334; at St. Thomas, 17, 286.

Chireta (*Criata*), a root, found in temperate regions of the Himalayas, 115, 323.

Chismer, *see* Kashmir.

Chita (*Cito*), leopard, 16, 161, 252, 286, 339, 379.

Chitor, former capital of Mewar, xxix, xxxii, 98, 317.

Chittagong (Chatigan), in E. Bengal, 96, 316.

Cholera, disease, 151, 335, 339.

Chorao (Charon), island in the Goa settlement, visited by Careri; Jesuits and Theatins at, 199, 273, 357, 390.

Choukis (*Tchogivis*), guards on the highways, 103, 319.

Choutia (Chiotia), *see* Rannagar, Raja of.

Christians, the, at Surat, 21-22, 41, 287, 288; kindness of Jahangir to, 85, 312; at St. Thomas, 124, 326; in India, 254.

Chrysobara, Chrysobacula (? Krishnapura), 92, 315.

Cira (*Civa*), a turban made of parti-coloured cloth, 210, 248, 363, 378.

Cinnamon, 197, 204, 275, 360.

Citrouille (*Citrul*), a pumpkin, 66, 305.

Cochin, capital of Cochin State and chief port of Malabar, 122, 274, 324; elephants, 63; fort, 122; inhabitants, 122; law of succession in, 122; marriage customs, 122; pepper, 122; port, 122; trial by ordeal in, 124, 326; conquered by the Portuguese, 195, 325.

Cochin-China, French bishops and vicars apostolic in, 273; Jesuits in, 273.

Coconut, fruit and tree, 160, 161, 179, 339.

Coconut day, a Hindu Festival, 117, 323.

Coga Mundy, *see* Muinuddin Hasan Chisti.

Coins and Currency, of India, 20, 253, 287, 290, 380; of Surat, 25; of the

Coins and Currency,—*Contd.*
Mughals, 26; of Golkonda, 136; of Southern India, 148, 334; of Goa, 270, 389-90.

Colewarts, Cabbages, 206, 362.

Colombo (Columbo), capital of Ceylon, xxxvii, 197, 355.

Comorin (Comori), headland in Madras, 4, 45, 257, 274, 280, 328, 384.

Compagnie des Indes, formation of, 29, 291.

Condomi, Father Joseph, a Sicilian missionary to Cochin-China, 273.

Congo-Bunder (Bander Congo), on the Persian Gulf, xxi-ii, 157, 158, 164, 168, 337.

Constantin, D., *see* Braganza, Dom Constantino de.

Constantin, Father, 162, 166, 337.

Constantinople, in European Turkey, xviii, xxi, 190, 349.

Conveyances and Transport, lvii-lix, 216; on way to Surat, 19-20; use of oxen, 73; use of chariots, 75; palanquins, 76-77, 309; coaches at Daman, 160, 341; of Goa, 188; in Balaghat, 214.

Cornac (Cornaccia), elephant driver, 221, 367.

Cornelians, sold at Surat, 25.

Corpus Christi, procession at Goa of, 271.

Coryat, Thomas, famous traveller, xvii, xxiii, xxxvii, xli, xlii, 302, 312; belief in Akbar's proficiency in necromancy, xxviii; attack on Islam and the prophet, 1; on Indian transport, lix; on robbers in European highways, lxi, lxxi.

Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, fondness for mogra tree, 205, 360.

Coslines, a coin of Naples, 160, 339.

Cosne, in Afghanistan, 80, 310.

Cossimbazar, Kasimbazar (*Casambazar*), in Bengal, 96, 316.

Costumes and dress, of the people at Agra, 50-53; used by Indian women, 53; of the inhabitants of Daman, 162; of the people of Bassein, 168; of the inhabitants of Salsette, 179; of Indians, 247-48.

Coulam, town in Malabar, 124.

Council de Facenda, *see* Junta da Fazenda Publica.

Coutinho, Gen. Sieur Francis, account of the Andaman islands by, 275, 276.

Covado (Covedo), a lineal measure, 179, 345.

Cow-worship, by the Hindus, 91.

Cranganur (*Caranpanor*), in Cochin, Madras, taken by the Portuguese, 196, 355.

Crore (*Crouls, courous*), Indian numeral, 25, 290.

Cumbarijiva (*Cambargiva*), island near Goa, Jesuits at, 199.

Curry Combes, a kind of comb used in currying a horse, 166, 305.

Custom houses, in Europe, lvi; at Suvali, 38; at Surat, 163.

Customs and beliefs, of the Indians, xl-liii, 245-50; of the inhabitants of Ponda, 211-15; of the Mughals, 245-50, 378.

-Muslim, relating to marriage, 31-33; relating to burial at Surat, 33-34.

-Parsi, funeral ceremony, lii.

-Hindu, *Sati*, xlii, xlxi-1, 79-80, 119-20, 249, 324, 379, 384; transmigration of soul, xlii, 254, 381; relating to marriage, xlvi, 90, 255, 256-58, 382, 383; at Surat, 33-34; funeral rites, 33-34, 119-20; plant worship, 36; kindness to animals and insects, 36; child-marriage, 72, 117, 308; in Kandahar, 79-81, 311; idol-worship, 89, 90, 91; cow-worship, 91; animal sacrifices, 92; in Telingana, 114-15; at Bassein, 168; of Brahmins, 255; of Rajputs, 255, 384; of Banias, 256.

Customs duties, rates at Surat, iv, 3, 279, 280; discrimination between Hindus and Christians, 4; rates at Broach, 9, 283; from shipping at Suvali, 38; rates at Daman, 157, 337.

Cutch (Cache, Cachy, Cauche), island of, noted for its horses, xxxi.

Dabhol (Dabul), city in Ratnagiri dist., Bombay, 185, 354, 387; under Maratha occupation, 185; conquered by Gen. Almeida, 185, 195, 348, 354; conquered by Shivaji, 265.

Dacca (Dake), in East Bengal, Shuja at, 229.

Dah-hazari (*Deh Hazaris*), a rank of mansabdars, 243, 377.

Daman (Damam), Portuguese settlement in India, 197, 275; taken by Braganza from Sayf-ul-Mulk, 159; besieged by Aurangzeb, 159; taken by the Portuguese, 195.

Dancing Girls, at Emanuel Motto island, 199; in temples of India, 263.

Danishmand Khan, one of the titles of Mughal nobility, 222, 368.

Daniyal (Scia Daniel), son of Akbar, 235, 374.

Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan, 222, 368; Multan and Kabul assigned to, 223, 224; defeated by Murad in the battle of Dharmat, 225, 369; defeated by Aurangzeb at Burhanpur, 225; treachery of Khalilulla Khan towards, 225; defeated at Samugarh by Aurangzeb, 227-28, 368; flight to Ahmadabad, 227; betrayed by Jaswant Singh, 227-28, 370; deserted by Badi-uz-Zaman, 228, 370; defeated at Ajmer, 228; betrayed to Aurangzeb by Malik Jiwan, 228, 229, 370; sent to Agra by Bahadur Khan 228; assassinated by Aurangzeb and buried in Humayun's Tomb at Delhi, 229, 371.

Date, tree, 200, 358.

Daud Taqarrub Khan, *Hakim*, Shah Jahan's physician, persuades Aurangzeb to execute Dara, 228, 371.

Daugi, Passo de, former abode of the Portuguese viceroys of India near Goa, 190, 192, 208, 350, 362.

Daulat Khan-i-Khas, *see* Ghusal Khana.

Daulatabad (Dolet Abad), hill fort in Aurangabad Dist., Hyderabad State, Aurangzeb at, 244; King of Golkonda imprisoned in, 266.

Dawar Baksh, son of Khusrau, grandson of Jahangir, short account of, 6, 232-33, 281, 373.

Dawazdah-hazari (*Duaz-dehazaris*), a rank of mansabdars, 243, 377.

De Capan (Capon), island near Goa, 199, 357.

Deccan (Decan), the, kingdom of, subdued by the Portuguese, 195; assigned to Aurangzeb, 223.

Delhi, city, 58-59; Red fort, 59; Jami Masjid, 60; Chandni Chowk and Faiz Bazar, 60, 303; fauna, 62; elephants, 63-65; painters, 65; women of, 66, revenues, 68; Aurangzeb's coronation at, 231; Jahanara Begum at, 232.

Desai (Say), a hereditary district officer, of Jamboti, 268, 369.

Desembargadores, administrators of justice in Portuguese India, 198, 356.

Dharmat, battle of, 225, 369.

Dhobis (Doblis), washermen, 257, 383.

Diamonds, mines at Kollur, 146, 251, 334, 379; mines in India, 251; from Rammalakota, 251; of Borneo, 251, 379; trade at Goa, 272.

Diaz (Dias), Bartholomew, Portuguese Navigator, 194, 353.

Diu, Portuguese settlement in India, 195, 197.

Divar, *also named* Narva, island near Goa, 199, 357.

Diwali (*Divali*), Hindu festival, 264, 387.

Diwan (*Divan*), a Mughal official, at Ponda, 209; functions, 240, 376.

Diwan-i-Khas (*Divan Xas*), 'Hall of Private Audience', at Red Fort in Delhi, 240, 376.

Do-aspa, cavalry of the Mughals, 244, 377.

Dominicans, the, at Goa, 192, 193, 351, 356; monastery in Mozambique, 195; missionaries at Senna, 196.

Dongarim (Dongarin), island near Goa, 199, 357; St. Augustin Friars at, 199.

Dos Reys, *see* Reis Magos.

Du-hazari (*Cuhzaris*), a rank of mansabdars, 243, 377.

Dutch, the, coinage at Pulicat by, 148; in Malacca and Moluccas, 186, 195, 349, 354; capture Portuguese dominions in Ceylon, 197; trade with India, 242; encounter with cannibals of the Andamans, 275.

East India Company, xxix; efforts to suppress *Sati*, 1; factory at Surat, lviii, 22, 33-34, 38, 288, 293; factory at Ahmadabad, 13.

Echlás Canpani-Suba (? Ikhlas Khan Pani), 210, 362.

Eclipses, ceremonies and superstitions connected with, 263-64.

Edward, Father, Procurator to the nuns of St. Monica at Goa, 171, 172, 178, 180.

Egypt, xvii, xviii, xxi, 45, 297, 325.

—Governor of, *see* Sulaiman Pasha al-Khadim.

Ekoji, step brother of Shivaji, 112, 322.

El-Morro, 'Morro de Chaul' or the fortified hill of Korle, built by Gen. Sequeira, 183, 347.

Elabas, *see* Allahabad.

Elephanta (Elephant), cave temples, 180, 343, 346.

Elephant-fight, at Agra, 49; at Burhanpur, 100-01; at Hyderabad, 132.

Elephants, xxxvii; from India, Siam, Cochinchina, Sumatra and Golkonda, 63; from Ceylon, 63, 252, 275, 380; at Delhi, 63-65; capture of, 64, 65, 252, 304, 380; longevity, 65, 252, 304, 380; used in battles in Malabar, 124; hunting of 189-90, 350; for Mughal army, 219, 221, 366; courtship and gestation period, 252, 380; diet and maintenance, 252, 380.

Ellora (Elora), rock temples, xix, xxii, 104-07, 320.

Elmas-kepentch, *see* Ambarpet Kalan.

Emanuel I, King of Portugal (1469-1521), 186, 194, 349.

Emanuel Lobo de Silveira, island near Goa, 199, 357.

Emanuel Motto, island near Goa, 199, 357.

Emery stone (Emrod), of Golkonda, 138, 331.

England, xviii, xxi, 179, 203; trade with India, 242.

English, the, at war with the French, xxi; merchants, xlvi, lv; shipping at Surat by, 38; at Dacca, 95; at Hyderabad, 135; at Golkonda, 136, 330; trade with India, 242; *see also* East India Company.

Enikitala, near Hyderabad, 150, 335.

Eunuchs, at Surat, 33.

Europe, xlvi; customs houses in, lvii; village inns of, lvii; insecurity of roads in, lxi-lxii; grapes in, 216.

Europeans, the, travellers in India, xvii; at Surat, 21; at Hyderabad, 135-36.

Factories—

- Danish, at Tranquebar, 128, 328.
- Dutch, at Broach, 9, 283; at Ahmadabad, 12; at Surat, 22, 288; at Agra, 50, 299; at Patna, 96; at Vengurla, 128, 323; at Golkonda, 136, 330; at Pala-Kollu and Bimlipatam, 148, 335.
- English, at Ahmadabad, 13; at Surat, 27, 288.
- French, at Surat, 163, 340.
- Portuguese, at Macao, 195, 354.

Fakirs (Faquirs, Faqirs), at Ahmadabad, 13, 285; at Allahabad and Puri, 93, 94; in Bengal, 94-95; in Telingana, 115; at Surat, 164-65; *see also* Yogi.

Fanam (Fanon), coin of Southern India, 148, 334.

Farasis, *see* Chambhars.

Fatehnagar, *see* Aurangabad.

Fatehpur (Fetipour), 56, 68, 69.

Fatehpur Sikri, in Agra dist., U.P., Buland Darwaza and Jami Masjid at, 56, 301, 305.

Fathers of the Society, *see* Jesuits.

Fathullah Imad Shah, of Berar, 127, 328.

Faujdar (Foursdar), Police magistrate in charge of a *sarkar*, at Surat, 28, 291.

Fauna, of Agra, 53, 54, 55; of Ajmer, 72-73; of Bengal, 96; of Daman, 161; of Delhi, 62-65; of Goa, 129; of Gujarat, 9, 23-24; of India, xx, xxxvi-xxxix, 252-53; of Kabul, 81; of Kanheri, 172, 177; of Malwa, 98-99.

Felicianus, Father, Prior of the Augustine Monastery at Bassein, 167, 170.

Ferreira, Father Emanuel, a Portuguese missionary to Tongking, 273, 276.

Festivals and fairs, Dewali, 264; Holi, 81, 208, 210, 264, 387; Maghmela, 93, 316; of Malabar, 125; of the Mughals, 66-68; Muharram, 148-49; Nauroz, 70-71, 306; Ramzan, 217; *Shab-i-barat*, 44, 297.

Figueira, banana tree, 201, 358.

Finch, William, xxiii, xxviii, xxxii, xxxvii, 313-18.

Firozabad (Beruzabad), in Agra Dist., U.P., 56, 301.

Flavius Arrianus, Greek historian, 11, 284.

Flora, of Aurangabad, 102; of Bengal, 96; of Daman, 161; of Goa, 129, 199-206; of Golkonda, 130-31; of Hyderabad, 133-35; of India, xx, xxxvi-xl, 199-206, 251; of Lahore, 85; of Surat, 35-36.

Flux, a kind of disease, 151, 152, 336.

Footwears, used by the Indians, 52, 300; *see also* Pa-posh.

Fort St. Christopher, near Goa, 186.

Fort St. Thomas, near Goa, 186.

France, xxi, xxiv, 103; Indian trade with, 242.

Francis, Father, 157, 158, 162, 166, 182, 191, 337, 390.

Franciscans, the, church and monastery at Bassein, 169, 342; college and monastery at Mandapeshwar, 172, 344; monastery in Goa, 192, 193; order of the Observants, 194.

French, the, at war with the English, xxi; at Surat, 29-31; in Mughal army, 218.

French East India Coy, xxix, 163; factory at Surat, 29, 163, 291, 340; envoys to Mughal court, 50, 99-100.

Fruits, of Daman, 161; of Goa, 199-206; of India, 199-206.

Fryer, John, xxxvii, xlii, xliv, xlvi, 1, iiii, 290, 330, 331, 335, 341, 343, 346, 348, 349.

Funeral rites, at Surat, 33-34; of the Hindus, 119-20, 249, 324.

Gabits, a tribe of fishermen, 257, 383.

Gabrs (Gaires), *see* Parsis.

Gahara Kunda (Geher Conde), supposed source of the Tapti river, 37, 294.

Gakkars (Caucars), 87, 312.

Galas, near Bombay, bay of, 184.

Galati, river near Hyderabad, 150, 335.

Galgalia (Galgalia), village on the Kistna in Bijapur dist., Bombay, Aurangzeb at, xxiv, 216, 217-22, 239; Careri's journey to, 207-17, 362-67, 375.

Galli, Father Salvador, a Milanese Theatin, 185, 192, 205, 207, 269, 272, 274, 276, 348, 392.

Gallivat (Galavetta, Galeota, Galiot, Gallavetta, Galliot), a kind of vessel, 162, 163, 166, 183, 196.

Gama, Dom Francisco da, Portuguese Viceroy of India (1597-1600), 190, 350, 353.

Gama, Vasco da, voyages of, 194; statue in Goa, 194, 353; discovery of a sea route to India, 194, 349, 353, 354; quells mutiny on board his ships, 195; at Calicut, 195, 324.

Gandikota (Guendicot), in Cuddapah Dist., Madras, fort at, 145, 146, 333.

Gangaputra (Pangaput), a low caste of India, 255, 382.

Ganges, the, river in India, xxx, xxxiv, li, 46, 87, 92-93, 96-97, 129, 229, 275, 313; source of, 4, 280; sacred character of 93, 315.

Gani, *see* Kollur.

Gardabad (Guerdabad), *see* Ahmadabad.

Gardens and Parks, at Jitbagh, 10, 283; at Ahmadabad, 11, 12, 14-15, 284-85; at Surat, 35-36; at Agra, 48, 290; at Delhi, 60; Shalimar Gardens, 68, 305; in Kashmir, 82-83, 311; at Lahore, 85; at Hyderabad, 132-35; at Bassein, 168-69, 342.

Garnets, kind of precious stone, in Delhi, 66.

Gaspar Dias, fort near Goa, 190, 273, 350.

Gaur (Gor), Province, xxxiii, xxxiv, 87, 313.

Gayali (Gagavali), Brahmins of Gaya, 255, 382.

Gazelles, a kind of animal, 161.

Gehanabad, *see* Delhi.

Geldria (Gueldria), Dutch fort at Pulicat, 148, 334.

Genoa, in Italy, xxiv, 182.

Gentis, the, *see* Hindus, the.

Ghari, Ghati (Gary), gong or bell, 139, 140, 331.

GHazni, Ghazna, in Afghanistan, 80, 280, 310; ruled over by Pir Muhammad, 5; conquered by Babar, 5, 280.

Ghendas, *see* Rhinoceros.

Ghia Kakri (Giacocharas), a kind of fruit, 179, 345.

Ghiyasuddin Jahangir (Gayeteddin), son of Timur, 5, 281.

Ghodbander (Gormandel), village in Thana Dist., Bombay, 171, 180, 344.

Ghunghchi (Gomitchi, Gongys, Gourghindel), used as weight, 25, 290; used as soldering medium, 55, 301.

Ghusal Khana, private chamber of the Mughal Emperors near bathroom, *also known as Daulat Khana-i-Khas*, 240, 376.

Giagrane, *see* Puri.

Ginge (Gengi, Gingi), in S. Arcot dist., Madras, 127, 274, 328, 391; taken by Shivaji; Mughal siege of, 239, 375.

Ginger, exported from Ahmadabad, 17; trade at Surat, 164.

Goa, Portuguese settlement in India, xxiii, xxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xl, 113, 116, 125, 166, 175, 185, 197, 273, 274, 275, 276, 332, 348; fauna and flora, xxxix, 129, 199-206, 358, 359; situation, 129; city, 129, 186, 274; fortifications, 129, 186, 349-50, 389; port, 129, 190, 191, 350; history, 129-30, 186, 195, 329, 349, 351; buildings, 129-30, 192, 270, 349, 389; inhabitants, 130, 158, 181, 187, 188, 255, 337; nuns of St. Monica at, 171; Portuguese ships at, 183; trade, 186; transport, 187, 194; castes and tribes, 187-88; merchants, 188; hunting at, 189-90; Cathedral of, 191-92, 351; church, college, convent and monasteries, 191-94, 269, 271, 272, 329, 350, 351, 352, 390; gates of, 194; Royal Hospital at, 194, 353; Inquisition at, 198, 356; government of, 198, 356, 357; islands near, 199; coins of, 270, 389; diamonds at, 272; farm of the Augustinians, 273; pilots at, 273-74.

—Archbishop of, 192, 193, 198, 199; *see also* Annunciacao, Dom Fr. Agostinho.

—Viceroy of, 273, 274, 337; *see also* Alvor, Don Francis de Tavora.

Godaganga (Guenga, Ganga), *see* Godavari.

Godavari, river in S. India, 112, 150, 321, 335.

Goga, a port on the Gulf of Cambay, 45, 207.

Gohad (Gehud), town in Gwalior State, xxxiv, 93, 316.

Gohegaon (Gahelgaon), near Hyderabad, 150, 335.

Goldsmiths, workmanship at Agra, 55.

Golkonda (Golconda), Kingdom of, xix, 101, 108, 110, 113, 127, 147, 148, 207, 274; 328, 331; elephants, 63; situation, 130; extent, 130; collections of tolls at, 130; flora, 130-31, 145; currency, 136; Englishmen at, 136, 330; Dutch factory at, 136, 330; precious stones, 136-38, 330; diamond mines, 136, 137, 138, 142, 143, 330, 333; fort, 137-38, 330-32; manu-

Golkonda—*Contd.*

facture of 'bezoar' at; production of emery stone at, 138-39, 331; royal tombs, 139-40, 331; revenues, 142; Omrahs of, 143-44; climate, 145; inhabitants, 148; serpents at, 148; Muhamarram at, 148-49; conquered by Aurangzeb, 265-66, 332, 387, 388.

—King of, religion, 140; army, 140, 141-42; war with the Mughals, 141; served by Shivaji, 184; Shah Alam's alleged treacherous correspondence with, 237-38, 375; *see also* Abdullah Qutb Shah; Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah; Quli Qutb Shah.

Gondwana (Canduana), in Central India, 87, 313.

Gopi (Gopy), *Malik*, tank of, at Surat, 35, 294.

Goujon (Gudgeon), a small fresh water fish, used as manure for sugarcane cultivation at Surat, 36-37, 294.

Govindrajaswami temple, at Tirupati, 128, 328.

Gowalas (Gaulis), milkmen, 256, 382.

Grapes, of Surat, 23; of Europe, 216; of India, 296.

Grasias (Garasias, Gratiates), predatory inhabitants of Bilpad, 18, 20, 255, 283, 287, 382; dues exacted from travellers in lieu of protection, lxi; *ragout* served to travellers by, 21, 287.

—Raja of, lxi, 20.

Gujarat (Guzarate), Kingdom of, *also known as* Kingdom of Cambay, xxix, xl, lli, lvi, lviii, 68, 163, 195, 197, 282, 286, 308, 324, 354; Mughal conquest of, liv, 8, 282; oxen from, lviii; roads, lxi, lxxi; government, 8; ports, 8; towns, 8-10; buildings, 8-10; Cannibals of, 9, 283; inhabitants, 9-10; water works, 10, 35; rivers, 10-11; tombs, 12, 14-15, 45; revenues, 46; assigned to Murad, 223.

—King of, *see* Bahadur Shah; Mahmud Begada; Mahmud Shah III; Muzaffar Shah III.

Gulalbar, a red painted bamboo screen put up around the imperial camp, 217, 366.

Gul-i-Daudi (*Ghoul Daoudi*), a kind of flower, 134, 330.

Gwalior (Gualear), historic city and fort, xxix, xxxii, 97; Mughal state-prison in the fort, 97, 222, 317, 368; 370; Siphr Shikoh imprisoned by Aurangzeb at, 228, 229; Murad put to death by Aurangzeb at, 229.

Haji (Hagi), a pilgrim to Mecca, 246, 378.

Haji Begam, *see* Hamida Bano Begam. Haji Khan, a slave of Sultan Salim Shah Sur, 68, 306.

Hakim Daud (Nakim Daud), *see* Daud Taqarrub Khan, *Hakim*.

Halabas, *see* Allahabad.

Halalkhor (Halalkhur, Halalcour), sweeper caste in India, 89, 314.

Hali (Helly), village near Hyderabad, 150, 335.

Hamida Bano Begam, *commonly known as* Haji Begam, mother of Akbar, 57, 302.

Hanuman (Herman), the monkey god, 93, 130, 215, 259, 316, 329, 365, 384.

Haoud, *see* Oudh.

Harem (Aram), female apartments of the Mughals, 217, 366.

Hashim, Mir, expedition against the Portuguese in India, 45, 297.

Hasht-hazari (*Hechets*), Mughal mansab, 243, 377.

Hatnur (Etour), village on way to Burhanpur, 150, 335.

Hayat Baksh Begam, mother of Abdulla Qutb Shah, 140, 332.

Hazarji, a rank of mansabdars, 243, 377.

Headgears, 52, 53, 210, 363.

Herbert, Sir Thomas, xxii, xxiii, xxviii, xxix, xli, xlii, xlvi, xlvi, li, lii, lii, lix, 312.

Hermaphrodites, *see* Eunuchs.

Hindaun (Hindon), in Jaipur State, Rajputana, 56, 301, 315.

Hindukush, mountain range, 80, 310.

Hindus, the, xxxvi, 15, 16, 22, 165, 178, 179, 180, 199, 288; funerals, 33-34, 249, 260-61; women, 66, 165; castes and tribes, 88-92, 114-15; widows, 119-20; merchants, 165; peasants, 169; princes, 207; marriages, 248, 261, 382; *sati*, 249; religious beliefs and social customs, 254, 258-60, 263, 381; gods and goddesses, 259, 260; trial by ordeal, 261; infanticide, 261, 385; pilgrimage, 262, 263.

Holi, a Hindu festival, 81, 210, 264, 311, 363, 387.

Honavar, Onore (Onor), in North Kanara, 125, 327.

Honey, exported from Ahmadabad, 17.

Hopewell (ship), xviii, xix, 1, 279.

Horses, for Mughal army, 62-63, 219, 366.

Hoshang Shah, Jami Masjid at Mandu built by, 97, 317.

Hospitallers, the, at Bassein, 169, 343.

Hospitals, for birds and beasts, *see* Veterinary hospitals.

Hugo, Hubert, a Dutch pirate, 29, 30, 291, 292.

Humayun (Humagion), Mughal Emperor, 97, 232, 233, 281, 312; succeeds Babar, 5; tomb at Delhi, 58, 229, 299, 302, 317; wars with Sher Shah, 126, 235, 327; aided by Shah Tahmasp, 126; death, 235, 374.

Hunting, 16-17, 54-55, 161; of lions, 189-90; of waterfowls, 246, 378; of gazelles, elephants, etc., 252-53.

Hug-Nazar, (*Ak-nazar*), an official of the King of Golkonda, 131, 329.

Hurricane (Hurrican), 250, 379.
 Hyderabad, capital of Golconda, 96, 148, 149, 150, 316, 322, 329, 330, 335, 388; situation, 131; town and gardens, 132, 133, 134, 135; palaces, 132-33, 266; flora, 133-35; administration, 135; inhabitants, 135-36; trade and manufacture, 135, 136, 321; currency, 136; prostitutes, 136.

Hydraphe, *see* Jhelum.

Ibn Daud, *Amir*, Lord of Aden, death, 45, 298.

Idol worship, by the Hindus, 22, 89, 90, 91.

Ikhlas Khan Pani (Ech-las Can Pani), 210, 362.

Illahabad, Illahabas, *see* Allahabad.

Ilha de Vaccas (De la Vaca), *see* Arnalla. Ilheos Queimados (Ysleos Quernados), a group of rocky islets nine miles off Vengurla, 185, 348.

Imam, 13, 285, 288.

INayat Khan, Governor of Surat, deserts his post, 41, 296.

Incense, sold at Surat, 25.

Indalwai (Indelvai), town near Hyderabad, 108, 321; iron mines at, 112.

India, xvii, 5, 6, 190, 213, 280; flora, xxxvi-xl, 199, 205, 206, 250, 251; fauna, xxxvi-xl, 252-53; social customs and religious practices, xl-liii, 245-50; caste system, xlvi, li-lii; economic conditions in 17th Century, liv; roads and inns, lix, Ix, lvi, lxii, 216; inhabitants, lxiii, 245-50, 254-58, 381; boundaries and divisions, 4; trade, 242; languages, 247; women, 248; minerals and precious stones, 251; currency, 253.

Indian Caucasus (Caf-Dagai), *see* Hindukush.

Indigo, from Sarkhej, 16, 285; produced in Cambay, 18, 282, 286; trade at Surat, 25; from Khandesh, 101; trade at Baroda, 297.

Indur (Indour), *see* Nizamabad.

Indus river, xxx, xxxii, xxxiii, 3, 74-75, 84-85, 280, 309, 311, 312.

Infanticide, among the Hindus, 261.

Inhame do Cao (Inhama Cona), sweet potato, 206, 362.

Innocent XI, Pope, 273, 390.

Inquisition, the, at Goa, 198-99, 357.

Iran, 77, 78-79, 80, 102.

Iron, mine at Narwar, 54, 301; mines at Indalwai, 112.

Irrigation and Waterworks, tanks in Gujarat, 10, 283; at Ahmadabad, 11, 15, 16, 284, 285, 294; at Surat, 34-35, 294; at Lahore, 85; at Chitor, 98; at Sitanagar, 111; at Golconda and Hyderabad, 134-35, 331; *see also* Tanks and Wells.

Islam Shah, *see* Salim Shah Sur.

Ismail Adil Shah, king of Bijapur, at war with Nizam-ul-Mulk, 183, 347;

Ismail Adil Shah—*contd.*

loses Dabhol to Gen. Almeida, 185, 348; conquest of Goa; surrenders Goa to Albuquerque, 186, 349.

Ispahan, in Persia, xvii, xviii, xxi, xxiv, xlvi, 144, 158, 239, 337.

Italy, xviii, xxi, 168, 170.

Itgi (Etchi), village near Kakeri, 215, 365. Itibar Khan, one of the titles of Mughal nobility, 222, 368.

Itimad Khan, *see* Abdul Karim.

Ivory, sold at Surat, 25; work at Cambay, 18, 286.

Jack fruit (Jaqua), 193, 350.

Jafarabad (Zafravad), village near Hyderabad, 150, 335.

Jaffna, Jaffnapatam (Jafanapatam), in Ceylon, 197, 355.

Jagannath (Jaganat, Jagannat, Jekanat), temple at Puri, Orissa, 94, 262, 313, 314, 316, 317, 386.

Jagir, 218, 240, 366.

Jahanara Begam, daughter of Shah Jahan, 49, 60, 222, 223, 226, 229, 231-32, 368, 372.

Jahangir (Gehanguir), Mughal Emperor, xxix, liv, lviii, lix, 6, 20, 312, 315, 327; tomb at Shahdara, 48, 299, 373; celebrates Nauroz in Ajmer, 70-71; kindness to the Christians and Portuguese, 85, 312; Khusrau and Shah Jahan's rebellion against, 232, 372.

—sons of, *see* Khurram; Khusrau; Parwez.

Jai Singh, Mughal General, defeats Shivaji, 42, 296; invades Bijapur, 141, 321, 332.

Jains, the, xlvi; in the Punjab, 86-87, 312; nuns, 87.

Jaisalmer (Jeselmeere), in Rajputana, xxix, xxx, 68.

Jalaluddin Mangbarni (Gelaleddin), Shah of Khwarizm, defeated by Chingiz Khan, 74, 308.

Jalesar (Oulesser), in Orissa, inhabitants of, 94, 316.

Jamboleira, the Jambolon tree, 202-03, 359.

Jambos, Rose-apple tree, 203, 359.

Jamboti (Jambot), south-west of Belgaum, 268, 389.

Jamboyera, Jambo, the Jamrul tree, 204, 359.

Jamdhari (Gemder), a kind of dagger, 226, 370.

Jami Masjid, built by Ahmad Shah at Ahmadabad, 13, 284; at Delhi, 60, 303; built by Hoshang Shah at Mandu, 97, 317; built by Malik Ambar at Aurangabad, 103, 319.

Jangomeira, the Jangoma tree, 203, 359.

Janissaries (Janisaries), army of the Ottoman Empire, 45, 298.

Janjira, island, held by the Sidis, 183, 347.

Jaquera, Jack-fruit tree, 203-04, 359.

Jasmine (Jasmin), also known as mogra flower, 205, 360.

Jassi, *see* Ayaz Sultan, Malik.

Jaswant Singh (Gessen Sanghe), Raja of Jodhpur, defeated by Dara, 225; betrays Dara, 227-29, 369-70.

Jehana, probably a corruption of Jagannath, xxxiv, 88, 314.

Jesual (Jesuat, Jesuoll), an unidentified province, xxixn, xxxiii, xxxiv, 88, 313, 314.

Jesuits (Paulistas), the, 129, 180, 193, 199, 274; church at Bassein, xxii, 169, 185, 342; in China and Cochin-China, xxiv, 273; monasteries at Daman, 158; at Goa, 190, 191, 192, 351; garden and monastery in Mozambique, 195; at Cumbarjiva and Juarim, 199; at Chorao, 273; novitiates, 273.

Jesus Christ, reverence of the Muslims for 85, 312.

Jewellery and Ornaments, at Cambay, 18; of the Mughal women, 53; workmanship at Agra, 55; at Delhi, 65-66; of women at Daman, 162, 340; of the Hindus of Bassein, 168.

Jews, the, at Surat, 22, 288; in India, 254.

Jhelum, tributary of the Indus, xxx, xxxii, 82, 84, 311, 312.

Jidpalli, village near Hyderabad, 131, 329.

Kitbagh (Gitbag), built near Sarkhej by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, 10, 283.

Jiwan Khan Malik (Gion Kan), betrays Dara, 228, 229.

Jodhpur, Maharaja of, *see* Jaswant Singh.

John II, King of Portugal (1455-98), 194, 353.

John III, King of Portugal (1502-57), 167, 341.

Juarim (Juvari), island near Goa, 199, 357.

Jube (Muluk Khana), at Ahmadabad, 13, 285.

Jugglers and Acrobats, of India, li, 109-10, 165, 168, 264.

Jumna (Gemma, Geminy, Gomany), river, 46, 57, 92, 298, 315.

Junta da Fazenda Publica (Council de Facenda), Council of Public Revenue, at Goa, 198, 356.

Justice, administration of, at Surat, 27, 28, 29; at Bassein, 70, at Hyderabad, 135; in Portuguese India, 170, 198; of the Mughals, 240.

Jwalamukhi, in Kangra Valley, Punjab, a place of pilgrimage, xxxiv, 87, 313.

Kabul (Cabour, Caboulistan, Kaboul, Kabulistan), in Afghanistan, xxixn, xxx, xxxii, xxxiii, 4, 6, 280, 310; description, 80-81; short history, 80-81, 223, 280, 310.

Kabul, river, 80, 82, 84, 310, 311, 312.

Kafir (Kafar), unbeliever in Islam, 223, 368.

Kafris (Cafres), slaves, in Goa, 188-90; in Daman, 159, 338; in Mozambique, 196; at Sena, 196.

Kahars, caste in N. India, 88, 314.

Kahror, Khardar (Cordar, Cozdar), town near Multan, 77, 309.

Kailash Temple, at Ellora, 106, 320.

Kakaji, ruler of Jawhar State in Thana district, 169, 315, 342; sack of Surat by, 163, 340; plunders Surat, 163.

Kakeri (Kancre), village near Belgaum, 215, 365.

Kakore or Kakora, village in Chandrovaddi dist, southeast of Ponda, 212, 364.

Kakori (Cancares), in Lucknow Dist., U.P., 87, 312.

Kalambi, Kunbi, Kurni (Columbines, Courmy), agricultural caste of India, 88, 89, 256, 315, 383.

Kaliana, in Thana dist. Bombay, besieged by Mir Jumla, 224, 368.

Kalligudi (Kodelki), village near Yadvad, 216, 365.

Kalutara (Calaturre), in Ceylon, 197, 355.

Kalvaral (Calvar), village near Daulatabad, 108, 112, 321.

Kalyani (Calion), in Hyderabad, ancient Chalukyan City, 113, 322.

Kam Baksh (Sikandar), fifth son of Aurangzeb, 239, 375.

Kamal Khan, one of the titles of Mughal nobility, 222, 368.

Kanara (Canara), districts in Bombay and Madras, 125, 261, 316, 327, 349.

Kanchani (Quenchenies), a dancing girl, 33, 71, 293, 306; *see also* Dancing Girls.

Kandahar (Candahar), xxixn, xxxiii, 4, 6, 7, 42, 77, 280, 296, 310; Mughal wars to capture it, 78-79, 282, 310; description, 78-80; revenues, 79.

Kanheri Caves, xxii, xxiii, xxvi, xxviii, xxvii, xxxviii, 171-82, 343, 344, 345.

Kansars (Cansars), Coppersmiths, 256, 382.

Kansuh-al-Ghori, ruler of Egypt, sends expedition under Mir Hashim against the Portuguese, 45, 297.

Kanwa (Canova), famous village near Bayana, 56, 301.

Karatals, Cymbals, 248, 378.

Kareputtum (Carapatan), in Ratnagiri dist. Bombay, 128, 328.

Karwan, suburb of Hyderabad, 132, 330.

Kashmir (Cashmir, Chistmire, Kachemir, Kichmir), xxix, xxx, xxxii, xxxiii, 281, 307; shawls from 52, 300; physical aspects, 82-84; history, 83; Akbar's conquest, 83-84, 311; revenues, 84.

Katar, Katarah, Katari (Cateri), a dagger, 220, 303, 367.

Kathiawad, peninsula of, xxxi, 257, 383.

Kathis, a fighting tribe of professional marauders, 257, 383, 384.

Kaukah, Mughal ensign, 219, 366.

Kayangulam, Kayankulam (Carghelan), in Travancore State, 124, 326.

Kelve, *see* Mahim.

Kesava Raya (Kesora), temple at Brindaban, 262, 386.

Khabardar (*Caberdar*), a cry of challenge, 27, 291.

Khajur (*Cadgiour*), date, used in preparation of Toddy, 23, 24, 289.

Khalilullah Khan (Calil-ullah-Kan), 225, 369.

Khalli (Caly), village on the Godavari river, 150, 335.

Khambayat, *see* Cambay.

Khanapur (Quanapour), village near Surat, 102, 319.

Khanderi (Canderin, Candrin, Keneri), island near Bombay, 183, 184, 347.

Khandesh, (Candeys, Candich, Candiche, Candisch, Dandes), xxxi, xxxii, 12, 99-101, 151, 284, 318; revenues, 99; trade and manufacture, 99, 100, 101; cotton, 101; indigo, 101.

Khandi (*Candy*), a weight, 25, 289.

Khanewal (Candavil), town in Multan dist., Punjab, 77, 309.

Khan-i-Saman, Mir Saman, (Cansamon), High steward of the Mughals, duties of, 240, 376.

Kharak, Kharaku (Khorgu), island in the Persian Gulf, 133, 354.

Kharepatan (Crapaten), fortress in Bijapur, conquered by Shivaji, 265, 387.

Khatri (Catry), Hindu Caste, 78, 88, 309, 314.

Khichari (*Cachiari, Kichery, Kistery*), a kind of cooked food, xiv, 73, 208, 308, 362.

Khorasan (Corassan), in Persia, 5, 280.

Khuldabad, near Ellora, 105, 320.

Khurram (Schach Choram, Korom), *see* Shahjahan.

Khusrau, Prince, son of Jahangir, 235, 281, 374; rises against his father, 232, 372; death of, 232, 373.

Khwarizm (Carezmian), ruling house of, 74, 308.

Kikar, *see* Babul.

Kiladar (*Kilidar*), commandant of a fort, castle or garrison, 211, 363.

Kilimane (Chilimani), a Portuguese trading town in East Africa, 196, 354.

Kim, river, 9, 282.

Kiosk, Kushk (Kiochik), a pavilion, 2, 279.

Kishm (Kescimi), island in Persian Gulf, 196, 354.

Kistna (Kachkna, Kiscina), river, 146, 217, 334.

Kolhi (Covir), near Bidar, 150, 335.

Kolis, the, a predatory tribe, ix, lxii, 88, 257, 283, 314, 370, 383.

Kollattiri Rajas (King of Cananor), rulers of Cannanore, 124, 326.

Kollur, on the Kistna river, diamond mines at, 146, 251, 334, 379.

Kondalwadi (Condelvai, Condelvaly), in Nizamabad dist., Hyderabad, 108, 112, 321.

Kongun, *see* Congo-Bunder.

Konkanies (Canarines), 187, 188.

Korales (Carolas), territorial units for administrative purposes in Ceylon, 191, 355.

Korle, (Moro di Ciaul), 116, 323.

Kotta (Acota), capital of Ceylon during the sixteenth century, Batticaloa bequeathed to the Portuguese by the king of, 197, 355.

Kottakhal, pirates of, 125, 326.

Koitwal (*Catual, Catoual, Cotwal*), police magistrate, functions, 12, 27, 28, 29, 221, 284, 291, 367.

Krishna (Kansunu), one of the incarnations of Vishnu, 259, 384; belief of the inhabitants of Kabul in the legend of, 81, 311.

Krosa (*Coss, Cosse, Kos*), unit of distance, 9, 212, 215, 283.

Kshatriyas (Catry, Cuttery), Hindu Caste, lii, 88, 314.

Kurram, river, 80, 310.

La Boullaye (de la Boullaye), French envoy, at Surat, 10, 31, 283, 292.

La Palvereira, palace at Goa, 191, 350.

Lac, exported from Ahmadabad, 17; sold at Surat, 25; from Sindhukheda, 44, 297.

Lahari Bandar, Lari-Bandar (Loureben-der), ancient port of Sind near Debal, 75, 308-09.

Lahore (Lahors), xxxii, xxxiii, xlvi, xlix, lix, 57, 223, 305, 312; textiles, 13; physical aspects, 84-85; city and fort, 84-85; Mughal paintings, 85; agriculture and manufactures, 85; flora, 85; revenue, 85.

Lakh (Lak), Indian numeral, 25, 290.

Lambert, Hugo, *see* Hugo, Hubert.

Lambert, M., Bishop of Beirut in Syria, travels of, 103, 319.

Lambuna, a place near Goa, 185.

Land Settlement, of Salsette, 179.

Langoti, lion cloth, 187, 349.

Langotis (Langottis), a poor caste of the Hindus, at Goa, 187, 349.

Lar, about 40 miles from Teheran, Persia, xxi, 168, 331, 342.

Lascar (*Lashkar*), a military camp, 217, 365.

Lasina (Lasana, Lazana), town in Nander dist., Hyderabad, 108, 112, 321.

Lasur (Sour), town near Hyderabad, 102, 319.

Law, Islamic, 26, 290; of Kandahar, 79; of succession in Malabar, 122, 324.

Leutis, a kind of vessel, 183.

Limodra (Limadur), in Rajpipla State, cornelian and agate mines near, 18, 286.

Linschoten, John Huyghen Van, xxii, xlvi, 279, 286, 306-07, 325, 335, 336, 341, 358; on fauna and flora of India, xxxvii, xxxix; on Kanheri and Elephanta, 343.

Lions, hunting method of the *kafirs*, 189-90.

Lisa (Lila), near Hyderabad, 108, 112, 321.

Lisbon (Lisborn), capital of Portugal, 188-89, 194-95, 202, 205.

Livourne (It. Livorno, Eng. Leghorn), xviii.

Livre, French coin, 3, 279, 289, 290, 295.

Louvre, town near Paris, 132.

Lovell, A., English translator of Thevenot's *Voyages*, xx.

Luigi, Don, Duke of Medina, Careri dedicates his book to, xxiv.

Ma Sahib, daughter of the King of Golconda, 142, 332.

Macao, Portuguese Settlement on the coast of China, xxiv, 195, 197, 198, 199, 271, 354.

Macassar, in the island of Celebes, 197, 356; subdued by the Portuguese, 197; Indian trade with, 242.

Machini, *machin* seeds, 267, 388.

Madina (Medina), city in Arabia, 30.

Madras (Madrasapatan), 142, 185; climate, 274, 333, 391.

Madre de Deus (Madre de Deos), church at Goa, 186, 192, 349.

Madrid, capital of Spain, 182.

Madura (Madure), city and dist. in Madras, 124, 147, 197, 274, 326, 328, 391.

Magh-mela, at Allahabad, 93, 316.

Maghs (Mag), the, people of Arakan, 229, 230, 371.

Mahabat Khan (Muhabbat Khan), Governor of Ahmadabad, 11, 284.

Mahadeva (Madeo, Mahadev), Hindu deity, li, 34, 293; *see also* Shiva.

Mahalakshmi (Malachiche), Hindu goddess of wealth, 259, 384.

Mahamaya, Hindu deity, temple at Nagarkot, 87, 313.

Mahi (Mai), river in Western India, xxxii, 10, 20, 283.

Mahim (Maim), town in Thana dist., Bombay, 167, 341; fort, 195; taken by the Portuguese, 195.

Mahmud Begada, Sultan (Mahomed Begeran Sulthan), King of Gujarat, liv; constructs tanks at Sarkhej; tomb at Sarkhej, 14, 285.

Mahmud Khilji, tomb at Mandu, 97, 317.

Mahmud Shah, King of Bengal, 126, 327.

Mahmud Shah III (Sultan Mamcot), King of Gujarat, 8; tomb at Sarkhej, 14, 285.

Mahmudi (Mahmoudy), Indian coin, 26, 290, 382.

Mahua (*Mahova*), tree, at Balaghat, 102, 319.

Maidan Shah (Meidan-chah), the king's square at Ahmadabad, 12, 284.

Maina (*Meina*), a bird of grackle variety, 96, 316.

Mainpuri (*Menapur*), district in U. P., 88, 314.

Majericam, a kind of herb, *commonly known as* Ban Tulsí, 206, 361.

Makua (Macua), the, a cannibal race of Africa, 190, 350.

Malabar, 121-22, 195, 280, 324-25; pirates, 18-19, 125, 184-85, 287, 348; ports, 122; law of succession in, 122, 324; Dutch advent in, 122-23, 325; inhabitants, 122-25, 325; wealth, 124; festivals, 125.

Malabar Recipe (Malabar Receipt), administered to victims by the pirates, 185.

Malacca (Malaca), on the west coast of Malay Peninsula, 186, 203, 204, 273, 349, 354, 387, 390; export of sago to Goa, 193; conquered by the Portuguese, 195.

Maldivian islands, an archipelago in the Indian Ocean, 275, 391; Indian trade with, 242.

Mali, gardener caste, 256, 382.

Malkapur (Melcapour), near Hyderabad, 150, 335.

Mall, *see* Trincomalee.

Mallaias, a species of mango, 202.

Malvan (Malinadi), fort in Ratnagiri dist., Bombay, 185, 348.

Malwa (Malva), province of, xxix, xxxiii, 97-99; situation, towns, history, 97, 317; architectural remains, 98; revenues, 98; bats, 98.

Mamaniva, Mameva (? Mahamaya), Hindu goddess, temple at Surat, 36, 164, 294, 340.

Mamdapur (Mandapour), a town in Bijapur dist., Bombay, 216, 267, 365.

Mamelukes (Mammelukes), Turkish and Circassian slaves of the ruler of Egypt, 45, 297, 325.

Man, maund, Indian weight, 25, 253, 289, 381.

Manar, island west of Ceylon, fort in, conquered by the Portuguese, 196, 355.

Mandapeshwar (Monoposser), in Bombay Presidency, cave temples at, xxii, 172, 344; road to Kanheri from, xxiii; underground church at, 172; college and monastery of the Fransiscans at, 172, 344.

Mandavi (Mendova, Mandua, Mandoua), river near Goa, 129, 186, 191, 329, 348.

Mandelslo, John Albert de, xvii, xviii, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xlii, xliii, xliv, xlvi, li, lii, liii, liv, lv, lvi, lviii, lix, lx, lxi, lxi, lxxi, 279-82, 283, 284-86, 289, 293-94, 297, 308, 325, 351; opinion on Hindu religious beliefs, xlvi; on marriage customs of the Hindus, xlviii; on *Sati*, xlvi, 1; on Indian highwaymen, lxi.

Mandu (Mando, Mandogarh), in Dhar State, C. I., xxxiii, lvii; history, 97, 317; Jami Masjid, 97, 317; tomb, 97, 317; town and fort, 97-98; ruins, 98; tanks at, 98, 318.

Manehua (*Manchuca*), cargo boat, 183, 191, 347.

Manesio, Eduardo, Archbishop of Goa (1595-1610), 85, 352.

Mangalore (Mangalor), in South Kanara, 125, 327.

Mangas Carreiras, a specie of mango, 202.

Mangelin (Mangelis), seed of, used as a weight in various parts of India, 25, 289.

Mango tree, planted by St. Francis Xavier in St. Paul's church at Goa, 193.

Mangoes (Mangos), the well known fruit of India, 179, 274, 339, 358.

Manilla, in the Philippine Islands, xxiv, 204.

Manjra (Mandgera, Manjera), a tributary of the Godavari, 112, 150, 151, 321, 335.

Manna, sold at Surat, 25, 289.

Mansab (*Manseb*), rank in Mugal Army, 243, 377.

Mansabdari (*Mansebdari*), system under the Mughals, 49, 244, 299, 377.

Mansanas, a kind of fruit, 161.

Mantur (Matur), a town midway between Mudhol and Galgala, 217, 365.

Manucci, xxix, xlii, 1, 281, 283-84, 286, 291-92, 297, 303, 305, 308, 312, 318, 324, 330-31, 334, 346-47, 353, 358.

Manwat (Manod), near Hyderabad, 112, 321.

Marad Khor, Murda Khor (Merdi-Coura), a cannibal tribe in Gujarat, xxviii-ix, 9, 283.

Marathas, the, country of; struggle with the Mughals; menace in the Deccan, lxii; spare Capuchin monks from molestation during sack of Surat, 41, 296.

—King of, *see* Rajaram; Sambhaji; Shivaji.

Mardangarh (Mardongar), fort near Ponda, 211.

Mardol, in Ponda dist., Goa, description, 208, 362; temple at, 208-09.

Marialva, Marquis of, a Portuguese nobleman, 189.

Mariucca, Signora, travels with della Valle in India, lviii, lv.

Marmagao (Murmugon), peninsula, village, fort and port in Salsette dist., Goa, 191, 351.

Marrag (Morg), 150, 335.

Marriage Customs, among Muslims at Surat, 31-33; among the Hindus, 90; child marriage, 117; of Hindus and Muslims of Baglana, 117-18; of the Portuguese in India, 170; in Goa, 187, 349; among Indian Muslims and Hindus, 248, 378; of Brahmins, 255; among the untouchables, 256-58, 383.

Martinhos, a kind of bird, 161.

Mary, mother of Jesus, revered by the Muslims, 85, 312.

Mary of Jesus, Sister, appearance of sacred signs on her body at death, 193, 352.

Maryam, *Hazrat*, *see* Mary, mother of Jesus.

Masulipatam (Masulipatan), in Kistna Dist., Madras, xix, xxxii, 96, 113, 136, 142, 147, 148, 230, 316, 334; *sati* at, 1; textiles and chintz from, 17, 146, 286; situation, 146; diamond mines, 146; fauna, 146; people, 147; shipping at, 147; diseases, 147-48.

Mata, *see* Mahamaya.

Matar, town and taluka in Kaira dist., Bombay, 10, 283.

Matricula, General, Portuguese official at Goa, 198, 356.

Matriz, *see* St. Joseph, Cathedral of.

Maula, *Mulla* (*Moula*), a Muslim theologian, 33, 293.

Mawara-un-Nahr, Ma-wara-l-Nahr (Mauren-nahor), *see* Transoxania.

Mecca (Mecha), in Arabia, 29, 292; Shuja's intended pilgrimage to, 229-30.

Medchal (Marcel), in Hyderabad, 131, 329.

Medina, Duke of, *see* Luigi, Don.

Meghdambar (*Mickdember*), a kind of house, 64, 304.

Mehmudabad, Mahmudabad (Mamadebad), in Kaira dist., Bombay, cotton thread from, 46, 298.

Mekran (Macran), in Southern Baluchistan, 4, 7, 280.

Menzes, Dom Fr. Aleixo de, Archbishop of Goa, 194, 342, 352.

Meos, the, country of, in Alwar and Tijara, 92, 315.

Merta (Mirda), town in Jodhpur State, Rajputana, 56, 301.

Meru (*Merous*), wild deer, xxxix, 55, 161, 301, 339.

Mestizos, the, half caste, at Goa, 158, 187, 337.

Mewar, ruling family of, descent claimed from Rama, 98, 318.

Mewat (Meuat, Mevat), the country of the Meos, xxix, xxxiv, 92; *see also* Meos.

Miana, town in Persia, Thevenot's death near, xvii.

Miftah, *Sayf-ul-Mulk* (Asid Bosita Abyssino, Cide Bofata), surrenders Daman to the Portuguese, 159, 338.

Milan, in Italy, xxiv, 207.

Milocoxim, *see* Gopi, Malik.

Minaz, Khojah (Cogea Minas), an Armenian merchant, robbed at Surat, 28, 291.

Mines and Mining, in Borneo, of diamonds, 251, 379; in India, 251; of cornelian and agates near Limodra, 18, 286; of iron at Narwar, 54, 301; of iron at Indalwai, 112; of diamonds in Golkonda, 136, 137, 142, 143, 330, 333;

Mines and Mining—*contd.*
 of diamonds in Kollur, 146, 251, 334; of precious stones, 251; in Mexico, at Pachuca, xxiv.

Mir Arz, Mughal officer in charge of petitions, 220-21, 367.

Mir Jumla (Emir Gemla), *see* Muhammad Said, Mir.

Miraculous Cross, church at Goa of, 193, 272, 352, 390.

Mir' adl (*Adelet*), an administrator of justice under the Mughals, 240, 376.

Miran Shah, son and successor of Timur, 235, 373-74.

Miranda, Francis de, in the Mughal camp at Ponda, 212.

Mirbaba, *see* Bahadur Khan.

Mirzababer, *see* Babar.

Misericordia, the, church of, at Bassein, 169, 342, 343; monastery in Mozambique, 196; *see also* Santa Casa de Misericordia.

Missionaries, in India, Jesuits, 257; in Cochin-China, 273; summoned by Pope Innocent XI to Rome, 273, 390.

Mocha, Mokha (Moca), port in Arabia, 29, 242, 292, 376.

Mogoreira, the *Mogra* tree, 205, 360, *see also* Jasmine.

Mohur, Indian coin, 25, 290.

Molucca (Molucco) islands, in Malay Archipelago, conquered by the Portuguese, 195, 329, 354.

Monanpet (Moumin), 150, 335.

Mombasa (Mombaca, Mombaza), seaport in Br. East Africa, 188, 196, 197, 198, 349.

Monasteries, at Daman, 157, 158; at Tarapur, 166; at Surat, 164; at Bassein, 168, 169; in Goa, 171, 192-93, 194; at Mandapewar, 172; at Salsette, 179; in Mozambique, 195-96; at Sena, 196; at the islands near Goa, 199; allowance paid to, 199.

Monkeys, in Gujarat, 10; in Cambay, 18; worship at Goa, 130, 329; worship in India, 213, 364.

Monkey-catching, in Malabar, 214-15.

Monogamy, among Hindus, 256-57, 382.

Monsoon (Monson, Monseon, Mousiim, Moussem), season, 1, 279, 287.

Mophis, *see* Mahi river.

Mort de Chien (Mordazin, Mordechin), cholera, 151, 162, 335, 339.

Moselle, river, *see* Kabul river.

Mount Delly (Mount *Delhi*), headland on the coast of Chirakkal *taluk* of Malabar dist., Madras, 185, 348.

Mozabad (Mosabad), in Jaipur State, 68, 305.

Mozambique, in Portuguese East Africa, 188, 195, 197, 198, 271, 306, 349; fort in 195; Jesuit garden in, 195; Portuguese Governor of, 195; houses in, 195; taken by the Portuguese, 195-96; monasteries in, 195-96; port, 196; description, 196; Kafris in, 196; Indian trade with, 242.

Muadhdhin (*Muezin*), criers who call the faithful to the congregational prayer at specified hours, xli, 13, 285.

Mudhol (Muddol), town in Kolhapur, 217, 365.

Mufti (Mufty), at Surat, 26, 290.

Mughal Serai (Mogulserai), 68, 305.

Mughali Bibi, queen of Muhammad Shah II, tomb in Rani Ka Hazira, 12, 284.

Mughals (Mogul), the, xxx, 4, 5, 61-62, 96-97, 280, 282, 321; extent and boundaries of the empire, xxix, xxx, xxxiv-v, 4, 5, 7, 130-31, 234, 373; efforts to suppress *Sati*, 1, 249, 379; officers, 210, 240, 280; conquest of Gujarat, liv, 8, 282; struggle with the Marathas, lxii, 183, 347; genealogy, 5-6, 234-40; army, 6-7, 218, 242, 244-45, 281, 282; revenues and revenue administration, 6-7, 240, 241, 242, 376; provinces in the empire, 7; currency and coinage, 26; court at Delhi, 60; arms and weapons, 61-62, 242-43, 377; birds and beasts, 62-65; festivals of, 66-68; emperors, 120, 374; defeated by Malik Ambar, 127, 328; deserters from the army of, 182; princes, 207; French in the service of, 218; Omrahs and ranks of nobility, 218, 243-44, 377; standards and ensigns of, 221, 367; administration of justice, 240; government of 240-41; foreign trade, 240-42; trades and manufacturers, 241, 242; court expenses, 242; military finances, 243; religion, 254, 381; capture of Golkonda, 266, 388.

Muhammad Azam Shah (Azam-Scia), third son of Aurangzeb, 221, 367; suspected by Aurangzeb of disloyalty; alleged treacherous negotiations with the king of Bijapur, 238, 375.

Muhammad Beg Khan, Governor of Surat, marriage of his daughter, 31, 293.

Muhammad Mirza, Sultan (Mahomet), son of Miran Shah, 235, 374.

Muhammad Muazzam Shah Alam (Sultan Mazum Scialam), son of Aurangzeb, 219, 221, 322, 366; sons of, 221, 367; deputed by his father to win over Mir Jumla, 224, 227, 322; imprisoned by Aurangzeb, 237-38; 375; sent to attack Golkonda, 265-66.

Muhammad Qasim, *Mutamad Khan* (Kasim Cham), Mughal General, defeated by Murad, 225, 369.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, King of Golkonda, Hyderabad city founded by, 329; Char Minar built by, 330, 331.

Muhammad Said, *Mir*, better known as Mir Jumla, career of, 144-45, 333, 370, 386; sides with Aurangzeb against Dara, 224; invited by Aurangzeb to Daulatabad, 224; Muazzam deputed by Aurangzeb to win him over, 224; siege of Kaliana by, 224, 368; sent by Aurangzeb against Shuja, 227, 229; Vijayanagar temple plundered by, 263.

Muhammad Sultan (Sultan Mahmud), eldest son of Aurangzeb, 141, 224, 226, 332, 368, 370, 388; deserts to Shuja, 227, 370; matrimonial alliance with Golconda, 265; imprisoned and poisoned by Aurangzeb, 227, 370.

Muhammadans (Mahometans, Moors), the, at Surat, 21, 164, 288; wedding customs at Surat, 31-33; burial customs at Surat, 33-34; festivals of, 44; women at Delhi, 66; of Multan, 77; of Cambay, 164; of Bassein, 169; in Goa, 188; in India, 248, 254; marriage customs in India, 248.

Muinuddin Hasan Chisti, Khwaja (Cogea Mundy), Muslim saint, 69; tomb at Ajmer, 69, 306.

Mulattas, Mulattos, at Goa, 181, 187, 346. Mulher (Mouler), town on the Mosam river, 116, 323.

Multai, Multapi, on the Satpura plateau, believed to be the source of Tapti river, 294; *see also* Gahara Kunda. Multan (Moultan), town and district in Panjab, xxix, xxxii, xxxiii, 68; situation; satellite townships; inhabitants; trade and manufacture; dancers of, 77, 78, 309; Khatrias at, 78, 309; sun-temple at, 78, 309, 310; revenues, 78; assigned to Dara, 223.

Muluk Khana (Jube), royal gallery, at Ahmadabad, 13, 285.

Muntaz Mahal (Tadge Mahal), *see* Arjumand Banu Begam.

Mundy, Peter, xxix, xxxvi-ix, xl, xlvi, lvii, lviii, lx, lxi, 194, 293, 318.

Mura (Murais), a measure, 172, 179, 344.

Murad Baksh (Morad Bakscha, Mourad), fourth son of Shah Jahan, imprisoned by Aurangzeb, 6, 226-27, 281, 370; Gujarat assigned to, 223; alliance with Aurangzeb, 223; Surat surrendered by its governor to, 224; defeats Muhammad Quasim Khan and Jaswant Singh at Burhanpur, 225; put to death by Aurangzeb at Gwalior, 229, 371.

Muscat (Mascate), capital of Oman Province in Arabia, 180, 196, 346, 354.

Muscat, Imam of, encounter with the Portuguese, 270, 354.

Musi (Mouci), river, near Hyderabad, 145, 146, 329, 330, 333, 334.

Musk, sold at Surat, 25; from Bhutan, 237; trade in India, 253.

Musk-deer, in India, xxxv, xl, 253, 380; of Ajmer, 72, 306.

Muslins, a kind of textile, 164, 168.

Muttra (Matura), famous city in U.P.,

Sambhaji left by Shivaji at, 43, 296; Murad captured by Aurangzeb at, 226-27; temple at, 262, 386.

Muzaffar Shah III (Mudafar), King of Gujarat (1561-73), taken prisoner by Akbar, liv, 8; effects his escape; commits suicide, 8, 282; tomb at Sarkhej, 15, 285.

Mylapore (Meliapore, Malepur), a suburb of Madras City, 17, 286, 352; chintz from, 17; *see also* St. Thomas.

Myrobalan (Mirabolan), export from Ahmedabad, 17.

Myrrh, sold at Surat, 25, 289.

Nadiad (Nariad), in Kaira Dist., Bombay, 46, 298.

Naga, sect of ascetics, at Allahabad, 94, 316.

Nagarkot (Nagracut), town in Kangra dist., Punjab, xxix, xxxiii-iv; Mahamaya temple at, 87, 313.

Nagra (Canara), a village north of Cambay, 17, 286.

Naiks (Naiqs, Naique), of Madura and Tanjore, 128, 328.

Nalganga (Nervar), river, 150, 335.

Nander, town on the north bank of the Godavari, 108, 109, 112, 321, 322.

Naples, in Italy, xxi, xxiv, 160, 170, 175, 183, 188, 209, 339.

Narbada (Nardaba), river, xxxviii, 8, 9, 164, 282, 283, 340.

Nariali Purnima, *see* Coconut day.

Naricut, a kind of disease, at Daman, 162, 339-40.

Narva, *see* Divar.

Naubat Khana, music gallery, of the Mughals, 219, 366.

Nauroz (Neurous), Persian New Year's Day, 70-71, 306.

Nav Syed, Pir, mosque at Surat, 35, 294.

Narwar (Nerouer, Narva), historic town and fort in Gwalior State, xxix, xxx, xxxiv, 92, 93, 315-16; iron mine at, 54, 301; *merus* of, 55, 301.

Navapur (Naopura), town in Bombay, famous for rice, 102, 319.

Navapur-petha (Naapoura), in Khandesh Dist., Bombay, 23, 288.

Navy, of the Portuguese, 181-82; of the Arabs, 182; of the Sidis, 183.

Nawab (Nabad), 27, 291.

Nayars (Nairs), of Malabar, customs and manners, 122-24, 257, 325, 384; women, 248, 379; polyandry among, 261, 385.

Nazar Beg Chelah, a slave of Shah Jahan, 228, 371.

Nazr (Nazr), a present from an inferior to a superior, 210, 363.

Negapatam (Negapatam), sea-port in Tanjore dist., Madras, 127, 128, 147, 328, 355; taken by the Portuguese, 197.

Neknam Khan, *see* Riza Quli.

Ner, village near Burhanpur, 150, 335.

Nerva, river, 131, 150, 329, 330, 335.

Nicobar islands, in the Bay of Bengal, 275, 391.

Niclaio Affonso (Nicholas Alfonso), a variety of mangoes, *also known as* Afuz or Hafuz, 202, 358.

Nilgau, a kind of Indian antelope, xxxix; *see also* Meru.

Nimet-ulla, a caravanserai, in the Karwan suburb of Hyderabad, 132, 330.
 Nimodra, *see* Limodra.

Nira, preparation at Goa, 200.

Nisida, island near Italy, 183.

Nizamabad, town in Hyderabad State, 108, 112, 321.

Nizamshah (Nezam, Nizam-Cha), *see* Ahmad Nizam Shah.

Nizam-ul-Mulk (Nizzamaluc), *see* Burhan Nizam Shah.

Nossa Senhora da Vida (Our Lady de la Vida), church at Bassein, 170, 342-43.

Nossa Senhora das Merces (Our Lady da Merce), church at Bassein, 169, 342.

Nossa Senhora do Cabo (Lady del Cabo), fortress on the island of Goa, 190, 350, 353; church, 271.

Nossa Senhora dos Remedios (Our Lady of Remedies), church near Bassein; 92, 315.

Nudoy (? Nandi), a cannibal race of Africa, 190, 350.

Numerals, Indian, 25, 253, 290.

Nuns, of St. Monica and St. Augustin at Goa, 171, 193, 352.

Nurgarh, *see* Salimgarh.

Oath taking, in Cochin, 124, 326.

Observants, the, *see* Franciscans, the.

Omar (Calyfe Omar), second Caliph of Bagdad, conquers Persia, 22, 288.

Omar Shaikh (Mirza Sultan Hamet), father of Babar, 235, 374.

Omlam, *mulsari* (*bakula*) tree, xxxix, 206, 361.

Ormras (Ormras), Mughal nobles, 143-44, 218, 243, 377.

Onore, Honavar (Onor), in N. Kanara Dist., Bombay, 125, 327, 355; taken by the Portuguese, 196, 355.

Opfel, *see* Hopewell.

Opium, exported from Ahmadabad, 17.

Orissa (Orixa, Udese, Udessa), xxix, xxxii, 88, 99, 313, 314; women of, 95; trade, 101.

Ormuz (Ormus), island in Persian Gulf, 196, 199, 239, 354.

Ornaments, used by Indian women, 53; of the people of Delhi, 65; of women at Daman, 162, 340.

Ostend, in Belgium, 159, 337.

Ostrich eggs, use as embellishment of Muslim tombs, 14, 285.

Oudh (Ayoudh, Ayoudh, Haoud), xxxiiii, 87-88; revenues, 87; boundaries, 87, 312.

Oulesser, *see* Orissa.

Our Lady da Merce, *see* Nossa Senhora das Merces.

Our Lady da Se, *see* St. Josheph, Cathedral of.

Our Lady de la Vida, *see* Nossa Senhora da Vida.

Our Lady De Los Remedios, *see* Nossa Senhora dos Remedios.

Our Lady of the Pillar, church and college of the Recollects, near Goa, 194, 353.

Ovidore (Veedor), an administrator of justice, 167, 341.

Pachaa, *Kantali champa* flower, 206, 361.

Padam (Padans), Indian numeral, 25, 290.

Padolim, *Panri* plant, 206, 361.

Pagoda, Indian coin, 253, 283, 381.

Paintings, Mughal, at Agra, 55, 65; at Delhi, 55, 65; at Lahore, 85.

Paisa (Peché, Pecha), Indian coin, 20, 26, 253, 287, 290, 380.

Palakkollu (Palicole), in Kistna dist., Madras, Dutch factory at, 148, 335.

Palanquins (Palanchine, Palankeen, Palankines), lviii, 75, 76, 142, 144, 159, 160, 168, 181, 182, 199, 210, 221, 246, 309.

Pallipuram (Palepor), in Cochin, taken by the Portuguese, 196, 355.

Pallu, Francois, Bishop of Heliopolis, 103, 319.

Palmyra tree, leaves used as paper, 125, 326, 357, 358; different varieties of, 200, 201, 357, 358.

Pam Nayak (Pammaich), a chieftain of Berad, 265, 266, 387, 388.

Pan, Pawn, *see* Beteleira.

Panchnigal (Pendigoul), 150, 335.

Pangal (Panguel), in Nalgonda dist., Hyderabad, 146, 334.

Pangara (Paranco, Paranga), a small boat, 167, 183, 341, 347.

Panhala (Pernala), historic hill-fort in Kolhapur State, 245, 378.

Panj-hazari (Panges), a rank of mansabdar, 243, 377.

Papagayo, a war-engine, 159, 338.

Papayera, Papaya tree, xxxix-xi, 179, 203, 339, 345, 359.

Pa-posh (Paboutches, Pa-pouches), slippers, 52, 300.

Parao, a kind of boat, 273, 274, 390.

Parbhani (Parboni), town and dist. in Hyderabad, 112, 321.

Pardao (Paradaos, Pardoes), a gold coin formerly current in western India, 198, 199, 270, 356.

Pariah, Paraiyan (Piraiaves), a low caste of Hindus in S. India, 89, 314.

Parsis, the, lii, liii, 80, 288; trade and professions, liii; at Surat, 21, 22, 38, 288; at Agra, 50; in India, 254.

Parwez (Sultan Peruiz), son of Emperor Akbar, 235.

Patalpuri Temple, at Allahabad fort, 92, 315.

Patan, town in Baroda State, xxxiii, xxxiv, 45, 297.

Patel, caste in India, 256, 383.

Pathans (Patan), the, tombs, 58; Kings, 92; rule in Bengal, 95.

Pathiri (Patry), town in Parbhani dist., Hyderabad, 150, 151, 335.

Patna (Patane, Pitan), in Bihar, xxix, xxxii, xxxiv, 87, 313, 314, 368; Dutch factory at, 96, 316.

Patoda (Patonta), near Nander, 109, 112, 321.

Paulists (Paulistas), the, at Bassein, 109, 342; at Goa, 193, 350; *see also*, Jesuits, the.

Peacock Throne, 59, 246, 289, 303, 378.

Peacocks, at Broach, 9; in Gujarat, 10.

Pearls, xxii, lvi, 25.

Pedras, de las, King of Angola, 189.

Pegu, in Burma, 230, 242.

Pendyala (Pentela), 147, 334.

Pengeah, *see* Punjab.

Pennu, river, 150, 335.

Penuganchyprolu (Penguetchepoul), village on the Muneru river, 146, 334.

Pereira, the guava tree, 204, 360.

Peria, unidentified place in Afghanistan, 80, 310.

Periyar, river, 124, 326.

Persepolis, ancient capital of Persia, xxi, 171, 343-44.

Persia, xvii, xviii, xix, xxi, xxxi, xlvi, 1, 5, 62, 77, 80, 102, 183, 206, 288, 300.

—King of, *see* Abbas II; Sulaiman Safavi I.

Peter, Father, 168.

Petlad (Petnad), town in Baroda state, 10, 20, 283, 287.

Phallic worship, by the Hindus, 263, 387.

Phat, *see* Jhelum.

Philip IV, King of Spain, 167, 341.

Philipatan (? Pipli), in Orissa, 96, 316.

Philippine Islands, 205.

Philosopher's stone, in the Andamans, 275.

Phulang (Coulan), river, 112.

Picardy, in France, 159.

Pigeons, 54, 300.

Pilgrimage, by the Hindus, 262-63.

Pilots, the, at Goa, 273-74.

Pimenteira, black-pepper plant, 205, 360.

Pimpalgaon (Piply), 150, 335.

Pimpalner (Pipelnar), town in West Khandesh dist., Bombay, 102, 319.

Pipola, in Tonk State, 68, 305.

Pir Muhammad (Pir Muhammed), grandson of Timur, rule over Ghazni, 5, 281.

Pirates, Arab, xviii; Baloco, xxii; in the Gulf of Cambay, 18-19, 185, 287; of Malabar, 18-19, 125, 287; Sanganiyan, xxii, xxxvi.

Pistoles, Spanish coin, 253, 381.

Pitan (Pattan), in Nepal, 87, 313.

Pliny, xxviii, xlviii, 84, 311.

Point de Galle (Cape Galli), in Ceylon, 274, 275, 391.

Polyandry, in Kanara, 261, 385.

Pompion, Gourd, 203, 204, 206, 359.

Ponda, town and dist. in Goa, 208, 209, 211, 363; inhabitants, 211-15.

Porakad (Porca), town in Travancore State, Portuguese and Dutch settlements at, 185, 348.

Portugal, xxi, 166, 186, 191, 195, 341; Indian trade with, 242.

Portugal, King of, 172, 180, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199; *see also* Emanuel I (1469-1521); John III (1502-1557).

Portuguese, the xxiv, xl, iv, 85, 116, 147, 161, 185, 189, 196, 286, 316, 323, 348, 356, 359, 389; at Daman, xxii, 116; decline of their power in India, xxiii, 197-98; trade, 18, 242; Egyptian expedition against, 45, 297; conquests in India, 45, 121, 129, 180, 186, 195-97, 298, 324, 327, 329; relations with the Mughals, 85, 312; relations with South Indian princes, 121-22, 125, 128; in Goa, 129; at Bhagnagar, 135; troops, 166, 183, 199; customs, 170; extent of dominions, 180, 186, 195-99, 350; ships, 183; at Chaul, 183-84, 296; in Moluccas, 195, 349, 354; at Macao, 195, 354; administration, 198-99; relations with the Imam of Muscat, 270; relations with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 296, 323; at Cochin, 325; in Ceylon, 355.

Porus, a king of ancient India, xxiii, 58, 98.

Posilipo, cape in Italy, 191.

Prabhus (Paravous), a caste of the Hindus in Bombay, 256, 382.

Precious stones, of Golkonda, 138; of Surat, 25; mines in India, 251; *see also* Agates; Cornelians; Diamonds; Garnets; Pearls; Rubies; Sapphires.

Primogeniture, Law of, absence among the Mughals, 232-34.

Prostitution, at Hyderabad, 136.

Pulayan (Poleas, Polias), a low caste in Malabar, 123, 124, 257, 325, 384.

Pulicat (Poliacate), saltpetre and gunpowder industry at; Dutch port at, 148, 334; trade, 148; coinage by the Dutch at, 148.

Pullets, black-boned poultry, 72, 253, 306-08, 380.

Pumberpa (Pumberpa), village north of Goa, 268, 271, 389.

Pumberpa, a kind of boat, 273, 274.

Puna, a kind of tree, 206, 361.

Punishment, of drunkards in Kandahar, 79; capital sentence at Ranthambhor 98, 318; for Hindu woman living with a Muslim, 119, 249; of Malabar robbers, 125.

Punjab (Penjab), the, xxix, 68, 84, 280.

Purana Pul, over Musi, 132, 329.

Purdah System, among Indian Muslims, 248.

Puri, in Orissa, temple of Jagannath at, xxxv, 94, 262, 313, 314, 316.

Purna (Pourna, Pournanad), river, 112, 150, 321, 335.

Purva, (*Puro*), *see* Allahabad.

Putah (Patou), 150, 335.

Pyrard de Laval, Francois, xxiii, xl, 306, 307, 325, 329, 335, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 389.

Pythagoras, Greek philosopher, xlvi, xlvii, 91, 254, 315, 381.

Qanun-nama (*Canon Name*), descriptive rolls of the Mughal army, 6, 281.

Qasim Barid, of Bidar, 328.

Qazi (*Cady, Kasi*), a civil judge under Muhammadan government, 217, 366, 376; at Surat, 26, 290.

Qazi-ul-quzzat (*Grand Cadi*), chief civil judge under Muhammadan government, opposition to Aurangzeb, 230-31, 372.

Qila Shahjahanabad, *see* Delhi, fort.

Quay (*Key*), at Surat, 2, 279.

Quegada Cheirosa (*Quegadam Cheroza*), *ketaki* or *keora* flower, 206, 361.

Quick silver, sold at Surat, 25.

Quilon (*Coilon, Kollain*), in Travancore State, Madras, 121; taken by the Portuguese, 196, 324, 355.

Quintas, country houses, 190, 350.

Quli Qutb Shah (*Cotb-Cha*), Sultan of Golkonda, founder of the ruling dynasty of Golkonda, 127, 327, 331; conquered Vijayanagar Kingdom, 327, 328.

Radicena, in Italy, Careri's birth place, xx, xxi.

Ragia Lisonte (? *Soning, Sonoegi*), a leader of the Rajputs, war with Aurangzeb, 238, 375.

Ragout (*Ragoes*), stewed meat or fish, served to travellers by the Grasias, 21, 287.

Rajapur (*Radiapora, Radiapore, Rageapour, Ragepur, Rajapar, Rajapour*), town and fort in Ratnagiri dist., Bombay, xxxiv, 128, 387; artisans at, 44, 297; sacked by Shivaji, 116, 265, 323.

Rajaram (*Ramrao, Savagi*), Maratha ruler, 184, 185, 347.

Rajgad (*Rasigar*), fortress in Bijapur, conquered by Shivaji, 265, 387.

Rajputs (*Ragiaputi, Rajapours, Rajpours, Rasbootis, Rasbootes*), xlvi-vii, xlix, 88, 184, 238, 247, 314, 375, 378; predatory practices of, ix-xii; at Cambay, 18; customs, 255, 384.

Raju Saheb, *Shah*, a Muslim saint at Hyderabad, 142, 332.

Rajura (*Rajoura*), 150, 151, 335.

Ram Singh Rathor (*Ram Senghe-rutle*), Mughal General, killed in the battle of Samugarh, 225, 369.

Rama Chandra, King of Ayodhya, worship of, 19; Ravana killed by, 93, 259, 316; descent claimed by Mewar ruling family from, 98, 318.

Ramak (?*Manu*), Hindu lawgiver, 254, 381.

Ramaswami Temple (*Pagod of Trapety*), at Tirupati, 128, 328.

Rameshwaram (*Ramanacor*), in Madras Presidency, temple of Rama at, 263, 387.

Rammalakota (*Raoconda*), near Kurnool, diamond mines at, 251, 379.

Ramnagar, Raja of, *also known as King Choutia*, 255, 382.

Rampuri Buzurg (*Raampouri, Rampoor*), a village near Pathri, 150, 335.

Ramzan, Muslim festival, 217.

Ranas, the, *see* Sanganian pirates.

Ranchordas (*Risurdas*), temple at Benares, 262, 386.

Rander (*Renelle*), town on the right bank of the Tapti, near Surat, Dutch magazine at, 32, 293.

Rani Ka Hazira, the queen's cemetery, tomb of *Mughali Bibi* at Ahmadabad, 12, 284.

Ranthambhor (*Ratispor, Rantimore, Rantipore*), in Jaipur State, Rajputana, trade; capital punishment at, 98, 318.

Rasigarh (*Rasigar*), captured by Shivaji, 116, 323.

Rasulabad, tomb of *Shah Alam* at, 14, 285.

Rauza, *see* Khuldabad.

Ravana (*Ravan, Rhevyan*), demon king of Lanka, story of, 93; credited as originator of an ascetic order, 93, 259, 316, 384.

Ravanavanshi Gosains, 93, 316.

Ravi (*Ravee*), a tributary of the Indus, xxxii, 84-85, 309; change in the course of, 84-85, 311-12.

Recca (? *Larak*), island in Persian Gulf, 196, 354.

Recollects (*Recolets*), the, Observantine branch of the Franciscan order, monastery at Daman, 158, 337; school of Our Lady of the Pillar near Goa, 194, 353; *see also* Capuchins.

Red Wood, sold at Surat, 25, 289.

Refesiz (*Rafzi*), a heretic, 223, 368.

Reguli (*Roylelets*), petty princes of Moluccas, 264, 387.

Reis Magos (*dos Reys*), a fortress in the province of Bardez, Goa, 190, 191, 350.

Relacao das Indias (*Relacaon*), Chief Court of Justice in Portuguese India, at Goa, 198, 356.

Reptiles, of Ajmer, 72; serpents at Golkonda, 148; *see also* Scorpions.

Revanche-Ram (? *Raghuvanshi Ram*), 258, 384.

Revand Chini, used as purgative, 152, 336.

Revenues, of the Mughals, 6-7, 240-42, 376; from Gujarat, 46; from Agra, 57; from Sind, 77; from Multan, 78; from Kabul, 81; of Kashmir, 84; of Lahore, 85; of Oudh and Berar, 87; from Allahabad, 94; of Bengal, 97; of Malwa, 98; of Khandesh, 99; of Subah of Aurangabad, 101; of Telengana, 114; of Baglana, 116; from diamond mines of Golkonda, 142; from Sambrani, 215.

Rhinoceros (*Rhinocerots*), in India, xxxvii, xxxviii, 252, 379.

Rhubarb, *see* *Revand Chini*.

Rice, used in preparation of wine at Surat, 23.

Rio Largo, *see* Periyar, river.

Rio Ram (? *Raja Ram*), Hindu deity, temple at Surat, 164, 340.

Riza Quli (*Raja-Couli*), *surnamed Neknam Khan*, 127, 128, 328.

Roads and Highways, of India, lix.

Robbers and Thugs, 9-10, 19-20, 28, 50, 58; *see also* Pirates.

Rock-Crystal, in Ceylon, 275.

Roe, Sir Thomas, xxx, xxxv, xxxvii, xli-ii, xliv, li, 279, 281, 294, 305, 313-14, 317-18; relates story of the 'Christian ape', xxvii-xxviii; on provinces of Mughal India, xxix; letter to Lord Carew re. errors in maps of India, xxxii; on Hindu belief in transmigration of soul, xlvi; on custom of *Sati*, xlix; on customs duties at Surat, lv-vi; at Mandu, lvii; on transport of India, lviii-ix; letter to Smythe re. Jahangir's tours, lix; story re. his cook, lxiii.

Roenas, *see* Red Wood.

Rohankhed (Rouquera), 150, 335.

Rohilagadh (Rovilag-herd), a town near Aurangabad, 112, 321.

Roicolet (Regolo), a ruler, 239, 375.

Rome, capital of Italy, xviii, 96; church of St. Andrew della Velle in, 192; missionaries of Cochin-China summoned by Pope Innocent XI to, 273.

Rosary (ship), 274.

Rose, a kind of animal, at Daman, 161, 339.

Roshanara Begam (Rausenora Begum), daughter of Shah Jahan, 222, 368.

Rouzindars (Rowzinders), Mughal cavalry, 244, 377.

Royal Hospital, at Goa, 194, 353.

Rubies, sold at Surat, 25.

Rupee (Roupie), an Indian coin, 20, 26, 290, 295, 300.

Sabarmati (Sabremetty), river in Bombay Presidency, 11, 284.

Sacred Thread, worn by the Hindus, 259-60, 385.

Sadashiva Naik (Sonde-Kirani-Karaja), Chief of Sonda, 212, 215, 364.

Saffron, xl, 23, 288.

Sago (Sagu), imported into Goa from Malacca and Borneo, 192, 193, 352.

St. Andrew della Velle, church in Rome, 192.

St. Augustine, order of, garden at Daman, 162; monastery at Bassein, 167; church and image of Our Lady da Merce at Bassein, 169, 342; procession of the Holy cross at Bassein, 183; church and monastery at Goa, 192, 193, 351, 352; nuns at Ghodbandar, 171; nuns at Goa, 193, 352.

St. Blase, near Goa, castle of, 186, 192, 208, 349.

St. Bonaventura, college and church at Goa, 194, 352.

St. James (St. Jago), island near Goa, fort at, 192, 194, 208, 362.

St. Jerome, hermitage and church at Cashi, 172, 344; hermitage at Goa, 192.

St. John, church at Ghodbandar, 344.

St. John de Dios, monastery in Mozambique, 195-96.

St. Joseph (Our Lady da Se), Cathedral of, *also known as the 'Matriz'*, at Bassein, 170, 343.

St. Michael, fort in Tivi, 268, 389.

St. Monica, convent and church of, at Goa and Ghodbandar, 171, 193, 199, 352.

St. Paul, church and college in Goa, 193, 352.

St. Roch (S. Rock), convent in Goa, 193, 352.

St. Sebastian, fort in Mozambique, 195, 354.

St. Stephen, island near Goa, 199, 207, 211.

St. Thomas, suburb of Madras city, 127, 128, 147, 195; chintz from, 17, 57, 286; *see also* Mylapore.

St. Thomas, church at Goa, 193, 352.

Sajipur (Senjavourd), 150, 335.

Sal Ammoniac (Salarmanic), *see* Ammonium Chloride.

Salim (Selim), son of Emperor Akbar, *see* Jahangir.

Salim Chisti, *Shaikh*, popularly known as *Shaikh-ul-Islam*, tomb at Fatehpur Sikri, 27, 301.

Salim Shah Sur (Cha-Selim), son of Sher Shah Sur, 97, 302, 317, 370.

Salimgarh (Salemghar, Salengher), fort near Delhi, imprisonment of Murad at, 226-27; imprisonment and subsequent poisoning of Muhammad Sultan by Aurangzeb at, 227, 370; Sulaiman Shikoh imprisoned at, 229.

Salsette (Salzete), island near Bombay, 171, 179, 180, 183, 191, 197, 199, 209, 275, 341, 343, 346; centre of Jesuit activities, 191, 351; taken by the Portuguese, 195.

Saltpetre, export from Ahmadabad, 17; manufacture at Ajmer, 73, 74; industry at Pulicat, 148, 334; brought to Gujarat for sale from Ajmer, 74, 308.

Salvador, Father, *see* Galli.

Samarkand (Samarcand), famous city in Turkistan, 234.

Sambal (Sumbal), xxxiv, 88, 313, 314.

Sambhaji (Sambagi), son of Shivaji, 43, 184, 238, 296, 347, 357, 375; Ponda relieved by, 211, 365; Aurangzeb's war with, 238.

Sambhar (Sambar), a kind of Indian antelope, xxxix, 161, 339; *see also* Meru.

Sambrani, village in North Kanara dist., Bombay, revenues from, 215, 365.

Samugarh (Samongher), village near Agra, Dara defeated by Aurangzeb near 225, 369.

Sandalwood, from Timor, 197, 356.

Sandur (? Sipur), in Punjab, 77, 309.

Sangameshwar (Zanghisara), river, 180, 185, 346, 348.

Sanganian pirates, *see* Pirates, Sanganian.

Sanseverino, Don Carlos, Prince of Biringuano and Duke of Sao Marco, Careri dedicates his works to, xxiv, xxv.
 Santa Casa de Misericordia (Sacred House of Mercy), church at Goa, 192, 351.
 Sao Laurencio (St. Laurence), 191, 192, 351.
 Sao Thome (St. Thomas), coin of Goa, 270, 389-390.
 Sapphires (Saphirs), of Golkonda, 138.
 Sarbhon (Sourban), village in Broach Dist., 9, 283.
 Sardar Khan, one of the titles of Mughal nobility, 222, 368.
 Sarkhej (Serquech), village near Ahmadabad, 15, 16, 283, 285.
 Sarkna (Charca), 102, 319.
 Satana (Setana), in Nasik dist., Bombay, 102, 103, 104, 319.
 Satgaon (Satigan), in Hooghly dist., Bengal, 96, 316.
 Sati, custom of, practised by Hindu widows, xlii, xlix, 119-20, 211-12; practised at Agra, Cambay and Masulipatam, xlix, 1; Mughal attempts at suppression of, 1, 120, 249, 324, 379; prohibited in Kandahar, 79-80; at Ponda, 211-12, 363; practised among Rajput women, 255, 384.
 Satias, specie of mangoes known as safia, 202, 358.
 Satins, at Ahmadabad, 17.
 Sattaispalli (Settais-pale), region in Hyderabad, 265, 387.
 Sawargaon (Saudurgaon), 150, 335.
 Sayyid Ahmad, son-in-law of Abdulla Qutb Shah, 142, 332.
 Sayyid Muzaaffar (Sidy Mezafer), a general of Golkonda, 150, 332.
 Scaramgam, a kind of tree, 206, 361.
 Scorpions, of Ajmer, 72.
 Seer (Serres, Goer, Keer), Indian weight, 25, 253, 289, 381.
 Seine river, in France, 37, 132.
 Seistan, Sistan (Segestan), ancient territory in Persia and Afghanistan, 74, 308.
 Sena (Senna), river, *see* Zambezi.
 Sena (Senna), port in East Africa on the Zambezi river, town, 196, 197, 354; Portuguese at, 196; Kafri slaves at, 196; gold at, 196; Dominican and other missions at, 196.
 Sengar (Singour) river, near Agra, 57, 302.
 Sequeira, Gen. Diogo Lopes de, Governor of Portuguese India (1518-21), El Morro Fort built by, 183, 347.
 Sequin (Chequins), a coin of Venice, 28, 291, 340.
 Sironj (Seronge), a town in Tonk State, Rajputana, 57, 302.
 Shab-i-Barat (Choubret), Muslim festival, 44, 297.
 Shah Alam (Chhalem), title adopted by Sher Shah, q.v.
 Shah Alam (Chhalem), leader of the Bukhari Saiyads in Gujarat, mausoleum at Rasulabad, 14, 285.
 Shah Alam (Scialam), *see* Muhammad Muzzam.
 Shah Nawaz Khan (Scia Navaz-e-Kan), *see* Badi-uz-Zaman.
 Shahapur (Sciapur), south of Belgaum, 267, 389.
 Shahbaz (Scia-Abas), Murad's eunuch, 223, 226, 368.
 Shahdara, near Lahore, tomb of Jahangir at, 48, 299.
 Shahi Bagh, built by Shah Jahan at Ahmadabad, 14, 15, 285.
 Shahjahan (Cha Gehan, Scia-Gehan, Sheich Choram), xlviii, liv, lxiii, 6, 11, 58, 78, 100, 281, 284, 306, 367, 369, 372; death, 6, 49, 231, 372, 373; Shahi Bagh at Ahmadabad built by, 14, 15, 285; imprisoned by Aurangzeb, 49, 226, 299; tomb, 49; Delhi built by, 57, 302; Kandahar wars, 78-79, 282, 310; sons and daughters, 222, 224, 225; war of succession among his sons, 223-31, 233, 281, 373; rebels against Jahangir, 232; succeeds Jahangir, 235, 374.
 Shahjahanabad (Gehan-abad, Jehanabad), *see* Delhi.
 Shahji (Nair Savagi), Shivaji's father, in Bijapur service, 38, 295, 322; imprisoned by King of Bijapur, 265, 387.
 Shaiibani Khan (Kay-bek-Cham), Uzbek leader, Babar dethroned by, 235, 374.
 Shaikh-ki-Sarai, Shah-ki-Sarai (Chekiserai), a traveller's resting place near Muttra, 57, 302.
 Shaikh Shuaib, island in the Persian Gulf, 196, 354.
 Shaikh-ul-Islam, *see* Salim Chisti, Shaikh.
 Shaista Khan (Chasta Can, Scia-hesta Kan, Shasta Chan), Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, 39, 40, 322, 369; unsuccessful expedition against Shivaji, 39, 40, 295, 296; appointed Governor of Agra by Aurangzeb, 226.
 Shalamar (Chalimar), garden, near Delhi, 68, 305.
 Shalimar Gardens, in Kashmir, 82, 83, 311.
 Shantidas (Santidas), Jain merchant, Chintaman temple built at Ahmadabad by, 13-14, 285.
 Shastrī, river, Arab ships burnt by the Portuguese at, 348.
 Shawls (Chal), from Kashmir, 52, 300.
 Shekerdeh (Squequerdeh), village near Hyderabad, 150, 335.
 Sher Khan (Tcher-Can), *see* Sher Shah.
 Sher Shah, Shah Alam (Kirkam), 281, 374; wars with Humayun, 6, 14, 126, 235, 327.
 Shia (Chiai), religious sect of the Muslims, 77, 140, 149, 288, 332, 338.
 Shimga (Siminga), the Holi festival, 208, 362.
 Ship building, at Damian, 162, 340.
 Shipping, at Cambay, 18-19, 287; by the Dutch and the French, 29-30; at Surat, 37-38, 164, 166; by the English, 141, 332; at Masulipatam, 147; by the Portuguese, 270.

Shiraz, ancient city in Persia, ruins of, xviii, xxi.

Shiva, Hindu God, lix, 103, 317, 319.

Shivaji (Savagi, Sivagy), liv, 112, 116, 129, 180, 184, 209, 287, 296, 322, 323, 328, 346, 348; sack of Surat by, 21, 38-43, 163, 259, 291, 296, 340; wars with the Mughals, 39-43, 183, 239, 295, 296, 297, 375; physical appearance, 43; Basrur sacked by, 125, 327; wars with Bijapur, 265; born at Shivner, 295, 348; compassion for non-combatants, 41.

Shivni (Seouny), 150, 335.

Shuja (Sugiah), Sultan, son of Shah Jahan, Bengal assigned to, 222-23; defeated by Raja Jai Singh and Sulaiman Shah near Benares, 223, 368; Mir Jumla sent by Aurangzeb against, 227, 229; joined by Muhammad Sultan, 227, 370; flight to Arakan, 229-30; death, 230.

Shutarnal, camel swivel, 244, 377.

Siam, missionaries, 103; trade with India, 242.

Siba, in Kangra, xxxiv, 87, 313.

Sidi (Sydi), a title of the Habshi or Abyssinian rulers of the island of Janjira, 183, 184, 347.

Sidi Masud (Sidi Mansutu), regent of Bijapur during the minority of Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah, 265, 388.

Sikandar, *see* Kam Baksh.

Sikandar Adil Shah (Sikandar), King of Bijapur, deprived of his kingdom by Aurangzeb, 264-65, 387.

Sikandar Lodi, Sultan of Delhi, 56, 302, 327.

Sikandra (Scanderabad), town near Agra, 48, 56, 298, 299, 302.

Sili (Selly), village in Kaira dist., Bombay, 20, 287.

Silveira, Antonio da, brother-in-law of Nuno da Cunha, 45, 298.

simples, medicinal herbs, export to Europe, 251, 379.

Sind (Sinde, Sindy), xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvi, 4, 7, 74-77; boundaries, 74; towns, 74-75, 308; trade, 74-75; arts and crafts, 75; transport, 75-76.

Sindheda (Sindiguer), in Baroda State, lac from, 43, 44, 297.

Sindkhed (Chendeque), 150, 335.

Siphr Shikoh (Sapesee-Kuh), son of Dara, imprisoned by Aurangzeb at Gwalior, 228, 229, 310.

Sipra (Ogene), river in Central India, 225, 369.

Sita (Chita), wife of Rama, 91, 92, 315, 316.

Sitanagar (Chitanagar), temple and palace, 111-12, 321.

Slaves, trade in Portuguese India, 116, 188, 323; in Daman, 159, 338; kafirs and black slaves of Goa, 188-90; in Mozambique and Sena, 196; purchased by Careri at Goa, 272.

Smyrna (Smirna), in Asia Minor, xxi, 241, 376.

Snake-stone (Stone of Cobra), preparation and use, 46, 298.

Socotra, Sokotra, island in Indian Ocean, 29, 292.

Sofala (Zofala), on the East Coast of Africa, 188, 197, 349, 354; fort, 196.

Sojitra (Sousentra, Souzentr), town in Baroda State, 10, 19, 283.

Sol, French coin, 26, 290.

Solor, island in the Malaya Archipelago, 197, 199, 354; conquered by the Portuguese, 195.

Sonda, ruler of *see* Sadashiva Naik.

Sonars, goldsmiths, 256, 382.

Sotrias, a fishing community, 257, 383.

Sousa, Martim Affonso de (Sousa, Martin Alfonso de), seizes Daman, 159, 167, 338.

Spain (Hispan), xvii, xxi, xxiv, 189, 203, 205.

—King of, *see* Philip IV (1605-65).

Spaniards, the, use of betel leaf by, 205.

Srinagar (Sirinakar, Srinakar, Syranakar), capital of Kashmir, xxx, xxxii, xxxviii, 82-83, 311.

Srinagar (Sereneghar), in Garhwal Dist., U.P., refuge taken by Sulaiman Shah at, 229.

Staffiere (Staffieri), footman, 2, 279.

Suba, Subahdar, governor of a province, 209, 362.

Sudra (Soudr), fourth caste of the Hindus, iii, 88, 314, 349.

Suez, port in the Red Sea, xviii, 45.

Sugar, exported from Ahmadabad, 17.

Sugarcane, cultivation at Surat, 36-37.

Sukadana (Succadan), port in Borneo, export of diamonds from, 251, 379.

Sulaiman I (Soliman), Sultan of Turkey, *surnamed* the Magnificent, 45, 297, 298.

Sulaiman Pasha al-Khadim, Governor of Egypt, commands naval expedition against Diu; treacherously kills Amir Ibn Daud; Aden captured by, 45, 298.

Sulaiman Safavi I (Scia Safi, Scia Selimon), Shah of Persia, Dawar Baksh entertained by, 233, 373; Prince Akbar's escape to, 239, 375.

Sulaiman Shikoh (Soliman Seecur, Soliman Seekah), son of Dara, Shuja defeated by, 223; takes refuge in Srinagar; captured by Aurangzeb; imprisoned in Salimgarh, 229, 371.

Sultan Bang, Sultan Banque, Sultan Bon, *see* Buland Akhtar, Sultan.

Sumatra, island in Indian Ocean, elephants of, 63.

Sumatras, 274, 391.

Sunnis, the, a sect of Muslims, at Surat, 22, 288; ill-treatment of the French at Aden by, 30; quarrel with Shias, 149, 335.

Superstitions, of the Hindus, 259-61; during eclipse, 263-64.

Sura, wine, preparation at Daman, 161, 339, 357; preparation at Goa, 200; uses, 200, 357.

Surat (Suratte, Surrat, Soret), historic town in Bombay Presy., xxviii, xxix fn, xxxii, xxxiii, xlili, xliv, xlvi, 1, lx, lxiii, 1, 8, 12, 17, 18, 19, 74, 77, 101, 102, 103, 104, 116, 125, 150, 163, 164, 169, 230, 317, 318, 319, 323, 354; Mandelslo's visit to, xvii; fare from Basra, xviii; *Hopewell* at, xix; customs duties at, xix, lv, 3, 279, 280; smuggling of pearls to, xxi, lvi; customs officers at, lv, lvi; custom house at, lv, lvi, 1-3, 163; English factory at, lvii, 22, 288, 310; bar of, 1-2, 37; situation, 21; fortifications, 21, 22, 163; Dutch factory at, 22, 288; inhabitants, 22; houses, 22-23, 163; streets and bazaars, 23; food and drink, 23-24; trade, 25, 163-64; currency, weights and measures, 25-26; officials, 26-29, 290-91; administration of justice, 27, 28, 29; French at, 29-31, 163, 340; marriage of governors' daughter, 31-33; Muslim wedding customs at, 31-33; eunuchs at, 33; dancing girls and Indian dancing at, 33; Broach gate at, 33; cemeteries and cremation grounds at, 33-35, 294; tanks and wells at, 34, 293, 294; irrigation and water works, 34-35, 37; Daman gate at 35; Pir Nav Syed at, 35, 294; tank of Malik Gopi at, 35, 294; buildings, 35; Jahanaara Begam's garden, 35-36, 294; flora, 35-36; temple of Mahamaya at, 36; soil, 36-37; agriculture, 36-37; fauna, 36-37; Tapti river at, 37; shipping at 37, 164-66; port, 37-38, 163; revenues, 38; sacked by Shivaji, 38-43, 163, 291, 296, 340; Capuchins at, 41, 164, 296, 340; city, 163; plundered by Kakaji, 163, 340; European and Muslim merchants at, 163; government of, 163, 340; fakirs at, 164; veterinary hospital at, 164; jugglers at, 165; bay of, 182; taken by the Portuguese, 195; captured by Murad, 223, 224.

—Governor of, 22, 168; *see also* Gopi, Malik; Inayat Khan; Muhammad Beg Khan.

Sutar, carpenter caste, 256, 382.

Sutlej, tributary of the Indus, 84, 309, 311, 312.

Swally, Suvali (Suali), roadstead at the mouth of the Tapti, xlili, 37, 38, 163, 164, 295, 340; custom house at 38.

Taffeta, a kind of woven silk, at Ahmadabad, 17, 164.

Taharabad (Tarabat), village on the Mosam river, 102, 319.

Tahmasp Shah I (Tahmas), King of Persia, 6, 281.

Taj Mahal (Tadge Mehal), at Agra, liv; architecture, 48; Shah Jehan buried at, 48, 49, 299.

Tamarind, 179, 206, 361; exported from Ahmadabad, 17.

Tamerlane, *see* Timur.

Tamluk (Tambulin), in Midnapore dist., Bengal, conquered by the Portuguese, 197, 356.

Tana Shah (Tanscia), *see* Abul Hassan.

Tanjore (Tanjaur), city and dist. in Madras, lix, 274, 328, 387, 391.

Tanks and Wells, on way to Petlad, 10, 283; at Sarkhej, 15, 285; at Surat, 34-35, 293, 294.

Tenur (Tanor), town in Malabar dist., Madras, 123, 185, 307, 325, 348.

Tapestries, of Ahmadabad, 17.

Tapti (Tapti), river of Western India, 8, 9, 32, 37, 100-01, 150, 282, 293, 323, 335; supposed source at Multapi, 37, 294.

Taragarh, hill and fort in Ajmer, 68, 305.

Tarapur (Trapor), in Mahim dist., Bombay, 166, 195, 341.

Tari, *see* Toddy.

Taslim, salutation, 243, 377.

Tatabakar, *see* Bhakkar.

Tatta (Thatta), taluq in Karachi dist., Sind, xxix fn, xxxii, xxxiii, 74, 77, 308.

Tavernier, Jean Baptiste (1605-89), xxxii, xxxv, xxxix, xlili, xlili, xliv, xlvi, lvi, lvii, lviii, lix, lxi, 171, 190, 282, 287, 294-95, 297, 299, 300-01, 303-05, 309, 314, 316-19, 321, 324, 328-35, 337, 341, 344, 384, 385.

Tavora, Fransisco de, Count of Alvor (Taverno, Fransisco de, Earl of Alvor), Portuguese Viceroy of India (1681-86), 189, 349.

Tchenau, *see* Chenab.

Telengana (Talengand, Telenga), xxxiii, 101, 319, 328; boundaries; towns, 113, 322; revenues, 114; Hindu castes and tribes, customs and beliefs, 114-15.

Temples, at Benares, Muttra, Puri, Rameshwaram, Tirupati, Vijayanagar, 262, 263.

Tenasserim (Tansserri), trade with India, 242.

Terry, Edward, famous traveller, xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxvii, xxxix, xli, xlili, xliv, xlviii, l, li, lvi, lx, lxiii, lxiv, 300, 305, 313, 314, 317, 331, 379.

Textiles, of Bengal, 96, 275; from Masulipatam, 146, 334; of Ahmadabad, 164.

—Cotton, manufactured by the Parsis, liii; *bafta* manufacture at Broach, 9, 282; trade at Ahmadabad, 13, 17; from Bengal, 52; trade at Firozabad and Sidhpur, 56, 301; of Khandesh, 99-101; from Agra, 103; trade at Surat, 163.

—Silk, manufactured by the Parsis, liii; trade at Ahmadabad, 17; trade at Surat, 163, of Bassein, 168.

—Woolloens, from Kashmir, 52.

Thailand (Siam), elephants from, 63.

Thana (Tana), chief town of the dist. of the same name, Bombay, 169, 171, 180, 184, 342; fort, 179-80; taken by the Portuguese, 195.

Thanesar, Thaneswar (Tanassar), town in Punjab, 86, 312.

Theatins, the, 203, 207, 348; at Goa, 192, 354; at Chorao, 273.
 Theban stone, *see* Garnets.
 Thevenot, Jean de, life and travels, xvii-xix; influence of his uncle, xvii-xviii; works, xx; estimate of his work, xxvii-xxviii, lxiv; influence of his classical studies, xxviii-xxix; historical and topographical errors in his work, xxxi-xxxvi, liii-liv; errors in describing flora and fauna of India, xxxvi-xl; on Indian people, their habits, food, dress, trade and profession and religious beliefs and tolerance, xl-xlii, l-li; on early marriage in India, xlvi; on Indian women, xlvi-xlii; on *Sati*, xlii-1, 119-20; on caste system, li-liii; on customs officers at Surat, lv-lvi; on Indian inns, lvi-lvii; on Indian transport, lvii-lx; on Indian roads, lix-lxiii; on Indian civility, lxiii; at Surat, 1-4, 152; on geography of India and history of the Mughals, 4-7; in Gujarat, 8-10; at Ahmadabad 11-17; departs from Cambay, 17-21; description of city, weights and money, officers, history, marriage ceremony, cremation and burial grounds, curiosities and port of Surat, 21-44; on the towns of Gujarat, 44-46; on province, town and inhabitants of Agra, 46-57; on province, city and inhabitants of Delhi, 57-66; on Mughal arms and weapons, 61-62; on Mughal festivities, 66-68, 70-71; on Ajmer province and city, 68-74; on Sind province, 74-75; on palanquins, 76-77; on Multan province, 77-78; on Kandahar province, 78-80; on Kabul province, 80-81; on Kashmir, 82-84; on Punjab, 84-87; on Oudh, Berar and Becar, 87-88; on Indian castes and tribes, 89-92; on Allahabad, 92-94; on Indian Fakirs, 93; on Orissa and Bengal, 94-97; on Malwa, 97-99; on Khandesh, 99-101; travels in Golkonda, Hyderabad and Balaghat, 101-04, 130-35; visits Ellora, 104-07; travels in the province of Daulatabad, 107-10; at Sitanagar, 111-13; on Telingana province, 113-15; on Baglana province, 116-18; on Hindu widows, 119; on the Deccan and Malabar provinces, 121-26; on the inhabitants and castes and tribes in the Deccan and Malabar, 123-24; on history of the Deccan, 126-29; visit to Goa, 129-30; on the inhabitants of Hyderabad, 135-37; on fortifications, mineral wealth and tombs of Golkonda; on history and nobility of Golkonda, 140-45; departs from Hyderabad for Masulipatam, 146-50; on Indian diseases, 150-52.
 Thevenot, Melechisedech de, uncle of Jean de Thevenot, xvii-xviii.

Tigdi (Tikli), town and fort in Belgaum dist., Bombay, 216, 365.
 Timor, island in the Malay Archipelago, 199, 354; conquered by the Portuguese, 195; sandalwood in, 197, 356.

Timur, the Lame, (Tamerlane, Teymür), 5, 289-81; succeeded by Miran Shah, 234; Sultan Bayazid I defeated and captured near Angora by; extent of his empire, 234, 373.
 Tin Darwaza, the triple gateway at Ahmedabad, 12, 284.
Tindolim, tree and flower, xxxix, 206, 361.
 Tirupati (Trapety, Tripti), in Madras, 128, 328, 333, 386; temples at, 128, 262-63.
 Tissuari, Tisvadi (Tilsoar), a district comprising thirty village communities, a name of Goa, q.v.
 Tithes and allowances, paid to the officers of Inquisition, to monasteries and clergy, 199.
 Tivi, village and fort in Goa Settlement, 286, 390.
 Toddy (Tari, Tadie, Terry), xliv, liii; used as liquor in India, 23, 24, 289.
Tol, Mughal custom of weighing the emperor on his birth day, 245, 378.
Tola (Tole), Indian weight, 25, 289, 290.
 Tolls and transit duties, lxi, 20, 287.
 Tombs, of Ahmad Shah I and his queen, Darya Khan, Azam Khan, Mir Abu, and Shah Waziruddin at Ahmedabad, 11, 284; of Shah Alam and his descendants at Rasulabad, 14, 285; at Sarkhej, 15, 285; at Surat, 33-35, 293-94; of Akbar at Sikandra, of Mumtaz Mahal at Agra, 48, 56, 298, 299, 302; of Jahangir at Shahdara, 48, 299; of Humayun at Delhi, 58, 299, 302; of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti at Ajmer, 69, 306; of Mahmud Khilji at Mandu, 97, 317; of Dilras Banu Begam at Aurangabad, 103, 319; of Qutb Shahi Kings at Golkonda, 139, 331.
 Tongking (Tunchin), in Fr. Indo-China, 273, 390.
 Toranja, pumelo tree, 204, 360.
 Toulon, port in France, 190, 350.
 Town administration, of Surat, 26-29, 290-300; of Daman, 158, 337; of Bassein, 167-68, 341; of Goa, 198, 356-57.
 Trade and Manufactures, of India, lii-liii; of Gujarat, liii; of Ahmedabad, 17, 164; of the Dutch at Cambay, 18, 286; of Surat, 25, 163-64; of Agra, 51-52, 55; of Ajmer, 73; of Sind; of Debal Sindhi, 74-75, 308; of Multan, 77-78; of Lahore, 85; in Bengal, 96, 275; of Ranthambhor, 98; of Khandesh, 99-101; of arms at Indalwai, 112-13; at Pulicat, 148, 334; of Cambay, 164; of Broach, 164; of Goa, 186; of Mozambique, 196; at Yadav, 216, 365; of the Mughals, 241-42; of musk in Bhutan, 253; of diamonds at Goa, 272.
 Tranquebar (Trangabar), town in Tanjore dist., Madras, 128, 147, 328.
 Transmigration of soul, doctrine of, xlvi, xlvi-xlvii, 91, 254, 315, 381.
 Transoxiana (Mawara-un-Nahr), 5, 280, 281; hunting dogs from, 62.

Transport, in Seventeenth Century India, lvii-lix; of Bassein, 168; of Goa, 194.

Trapani, capital of the province of same name in Sicily, 183, 347.

Trial by ordeal, 124, 261, 326.

Trincomalee (Mall, Trichil), in Ceylon, 197, 355.

Turaiyar (Tiar), town in Trichinopoly dist., Madras, 274, 391.

Turkey, 281, 376; trade with the Mughals, 241.

—Sultan of, *see* Sulaiman I (1520-86).

Turks, the, at Surat, 21, 280.

Tutanaga (Tutunac), a kind of copper alloy, 65, 304.

Typhoon, *see* Hurricane.

Udesse, Udesa (? Orissa) province of, 88, 313.

Udgir (Oudeguir), in Bidar dist., 151, 335.

Ullal (Olala), in S. Kanara dist., Madras, 125, 327.

Umar bin Ahmad al Kazaruni, *Zaul-al-Malik*, tomb at Cambay, 18, 286.

Umbrane (Omran), 102, 319.

Underi (Undrin), island near the entrance of Bombay harbour, 183, 184, 347.

Undi, a kind of tree, 161; 206; *see also* Puna.

Untouchables, the, marriage customs among, 256-58, 383.

Urs, annual fair at the tomb of Khawaja Muinuddin Chisti at Ajmer, 69, 306.

Ustad Quli Khan, founding of cannon by, 62, 303.

Uzbegs (Ulbecks), 62.

Vadakara, *see* Badagora.

Vaitarani, mythological river of Hindu nether world, 259, 384, 385.

Vaitis, a tribe of fishermen, 257, 383.

Val (Vabs), Indian weight, 25, 290.

Valars (Valuoris), a caste in India, 256, 382-83.

Valle, Pietro della (Peter de la Valle), xvii, xxii, xxiii, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxix, xliv, xvii, xlvi, li, lv, lx, lxii, 171, 294, 327.

Valod (Balor), 102, 319.

Vanur (Onor), village in Belgaum dist., Bombay, 216, 365.

Varad, Varal, Varada, *see* Berar.

Variao (Beriao, Periaw), village in Broach dist., Bombay, 92, 282.

Varsha-grantha (Borsgant), birthday of the Mughal emperor, public observance of, 245, 378.

Vat tree (Wartree), at Surat, 36, 294.

Vedas (Bets), holy scriptures of the Hindus, 90, 315.

Vellore (Velour), 127, 328.

Velvet, of Surat and Ahmadabad, 17, 164.

Vendome (Vendosme) Duc de, *see* Caesar, Duke of Vendome.

Vengurla (Vingourla), port in Bijapur Kingdom, 116, 128, 323.

Venice, lv, lxi, 173, 291, 340.

Versova (Versava), port and village near Bombay, 179, 346.

Veterinary hospitals, xlvi-xlvii, 254, 286; at Ahmedabad, 16, 341; at Cambay, 18; at Surat, 165; in Goa, 194; at Bassein, 343.

Vettar, *see* Tanur.

Vijayanagar (Bisnag), Kingdom of, xxxvi, 126-27, 145, 322, 324, 328; temple plundered by Mir Jumla at, 263, 386.

Vinegar, prepared at Surat, 23.

Virar, near Bassein, supposed birth-place of Shivaji, 38, 295.

Virji Vora (Varjivora), merchant and banker of Surat, 22, 288.

Visconti, Father Hippolito, 207, 269, 272, 274, 390, 392.

Vrati (Vartias), burial of, 34, 293; at Lahore, 86-87.

Vyara (Biaraa), 102, 319.

Wakil-i-mutlaq or Divan-i-mutlaq (Gium-Detal-Malk), Vicegerent of the Mughals, 218, 366.

Waqai-Navis, Waqai-Nigar (Vaca-Nevis), news writer, at Surat, 26, 290, 291.

Water-fowls, hunting of, 246, 378.

Weights and Measures, of Surat, 25; of India, 253.

Widows, Hindu, 119-20, 250, 256, 257.

Wine, distillation at Surat, 23.

Women, Methwold and Terry on, xlvii; dancing girls, 33, 71, 199, 293, 306; dress and ornaments, 53; used as decoy by robbers, 58; of Delhi, 66; of Bengal and Orissa, 95; Hindu, 119-20, 250, 256, 257; of Malabar, 122, 261, 325; of Golconda and Hyderabad, 136; at Daman, 162; fecundity, 248; Rajput, 255, 284; polyandry among Nayars, 261; temple dancers, 263.

Xavier, St. Francis (Xaverius, S. Francis), buried at Goa Velha, 129, 329; tradition of planting Jack fruit and mango trees at St. Paul's church in Goa by, 193, 352; chapel at Goa, 352.

Yadvad (Edoar), in Belgaum dist., 216, 267, 365.

Yakub Khan (Jacob), Kashmir conquered by Akbar from, 83, 311.

Yakut-kepensh, 150, 335.

Yemen (Hyeman), in Arabia, xlivi; export of coffee from, 241, 376.

Yezid I, Caliph, 150, 335.

Yogi, Yogin (Jogis, Jogues), Hindu ascetics, burial rites, 34, 293; sects and mode of life, 258.

Yusuf Adil Shah (Adil-Cha), King of Bijapur, conquers Bijapur, 127, 327-28; Goa conquered by the Portuguese from, 129, 329.	Zafran, Saffron, 248, 378. Zagatay, <i>see</i> Chagtai.
Yusuf Khan (Justaf-Can), King of Kashmir, 83, 311.	Zagaye (Javelin), 61, 303. Zakat, taxes, collected by rebel leaders from travellers in India, lxi.
Zabaim, <i>see</i> Yusuf Adil Shah. Zabulistan, 80, 310.	Zambezi (Rio de Sena), river in Africa, 195, 196, 354. Zamorin (Zamorri), ruler of Calicut, 122, 185, 324-26, 348. Zoroastrians, <i>see</i> Parsis.



CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
XX	32	CXCIII	LXCIII
XXXIII	2 Bember" Bember", ³⁷
XL	35 Indies" ⁶³ Indies" ⁶⁹
XLIV	26	helps	helpe
	27	as	an
XLIX	36	Governours	Gouverneurs
1	8	Mousson	Meusson
8 margin	34	The ports Surrat	The ports of Surrat
20	16	he Coachman	the Coachman
25	12	also	also ⁷
25	15	go off	go off ¹¹
26 margin	2	Insert 'Roupies of Silver'	
72	38	The ways	The ways ⁵⁸
76	28	Pambou	Pambou
76	39	Livres	Livres
83	13	Justaf-can	Justaf-can
83 margin	20	Jacob	Jacob
88	12	Mogolistan	Mogolistan
90	8	Rajpoutes	Raspoutes
93 margin	14	Faqir	Faqiirs
100	2	the	them
100 margin	16	House	Houses
103	19	Caravanserai	Caravanseras
107	32	mentioned	mentioned ¹⁶
110	17	Boson	Bason
114	2	commanded	commanded in
123	43	Town	Towns
130	24	Golconda	Golconde
135 margin	17	Insert 'a hyphen' after 'Inhabi'	
135	36	taken up	taken up ¹
145	42	thay	they
148	6	Insert 'semicolon' after 'Factories'	
174	13	its side ^{32d}	its side
175	39	ancient	antient
178	36	Insert 'hope I should have something good to' after 'This word made me'	
181	29	Snuff	Snuff ⁵⁸
183	12	Sicily ⁵	Sicily
185	37	Eqipage	Equipage
187	12	Religious	Religions
194	32	1947	1497
202	9	to	to ⁴¹
205	47	aboard	abroad
213	17	and	and ⁶²
214	44	loaded	loaded ¹¹
220	15	return'd	return'd ³⁷
229	30	Death	Death ^{109a}
248	39	deliver'd	deliver'd ^{27a}
261	5	so he	so ^{62a} he
265	23	Sidi Mansutu	Sidi Mansutu ¹⁷
267	8	Slip	Slip ¹
276	4	which	which ³⁰
292	52	Decca	Dacca
298	36	Mahmadabad	Mehmadabad
307	47	Philiphines	Philippines
308	44	Abul-Fazl	Abu-l Fazl
323	24	Imp. Goz.	Imp. Gaz.
323	34	History of Marathas	History of the Mahrattas



Page	Line	For	Read
329	5	Satari	Satara
341	2	Linchoten	Linschoten
366	12	Chap. II	Chap. III
376	17	Ghusal Khan	Ghusal Khana
"	"	Divan Khan	Divan Khana
380	26	Abul Fazl	Abu-l Fazl
381	2	Note 20	Note 22
385	32	f.n. 31	n. 31
386	41	255, 262	pp. 255, 262
"	"	Vijaynagar	Vijayanagar
"	58	pp. 91 & 105	BK. II Chaps. II & IX pp. 127-128, 147.
387	2	Vigianour	Viziapour
388	38, 42	History of Aurangzib	History of Aurangzib

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